THE COPULATIVE CONSTRUCTION IN BANTU WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ZULU[1]

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SYNOPSIS

The copulative construction in Bantu presents many puzzling and unusual features to the European student. Much of the obscurity which surrounds the construction is a result of the efforts of earlier grammarians to force it into the same pattern as the common type of construction in European languages with an ever present verb "to be". This paper represents an endeavour to fit Bantu, and the peculiarities of its copulative construction, into the broader picture of the language families of the world, in applying the more universal features of the construction to it. It is found that Bantu fits quite easily into this "universal" pattern of the construction and, in fact, has not evolved to any great extent from the ancient form of it. This form, which is still quite common to-day, consists of the mere juxtaposing of the subject and its copulative predicate, without any change to the latter or any "copula" verb between them. A suggestion is made regarding the origin and function of the invariable copulative formatives which, in their various forms in the different languages, are postulated as derivations from an original substantival prefix *ni–. This paper also contains a theory, developed from a comparative study of the predicative use of the common conjunctive formative na–, that this formative is nothing other than a worn-down verb stem.

THE NATURE AND HISTORY OF THE COPULATIVE IN BANTU AND OTHER LANGUAGE FAMILIES

In few other aspects of grammar has the true genius of Bantu been obscured to the extent that it has in the copulative construction, by the efforts of grammarians with an Indo-European background to force it into the same mould as the verb "to be". The seriousness of their error becomes even greater when we realize that this type of construction with the copula verb ("to be" in Teutonic languages, but there are others derived from different roots) is the culmination of a very special

type of linguistic evolution with regard to this construction, and has nothing at all to do with the "universals" of language.

The wider our comparative study of the language families of the world, and the further back we go into the history of each of them, the more obvious does it become that the most archaic form of the "substantive sentence",[1] and probably the most common even to-day, is the simple juxtaposing of the two terms, which we regard as subject and predicate, without any "*copula*" element whatsoever. Observe the following:

OLD PERSIAN:
Manā pitā Vištāpsa (My father (is) Vishtaspa).
SANSKRIT:
Tvdm Vârunas (Thou (art) Varuna).
OLD IRISH:
infer maith (the good man) but *Maith infer* (The man (is) good).
CHINESE still uses this form consistently:
ta kuok (the great state) but *Kuok ta* (The state (is) great).

The FINNO-UGRIAN languages have this form of the construction as a distinct feature, and RUSSIAN retains it largely as a result of their influence:
Dom' nov' (The house is new; lit.: the house new).
ARABIC:[2]
Zaydun 'alimun (Zaid (is) wise; lit.: Zaid wise).

This then is the "substantive sentence" in its oldest and most common form, and although there is need to tread warily in reaching any conclusions regarding the "universals" of language, we are justified in looking for this form of the construction in Bantu. When we find it occurring in the four corners of the Bantu area, we are justified in postulating it as an archaic form of the construction in Bantu also. It is the acceptance of this fact which removes much of the fog which obscures the copulative construction in Bantu and the misunderstanding of such unfamiliar features as copulative formatives.

Just as all languages seem to distinguish between the two main categories of "verb" and "substantive" in their stock of words, so also do they recognize a difference between the truly verbal sentence and the sentence which has as its predicate a "substantive". It is clear that the earliest Greek grammarians appreciated this difference. It is also clear however, that although grammarians may regard the second of the juxtaposed terms in a "substantive sentence" as the predicate, and therefore as something in the nature of the verb, language does not make this mistake; and it is still sufficient of a "substantive" to render the use of strictly verbal inflectional elements quite impossible with it. What language does do however, is to recognize a change in function for the "substantive" serving as predicate in a "substantive sentence". It realizes that the particular part of speech is no longer doing its old job, and very often language wishes to indicate this change of function by one of the grammatical processes at its disposal. In the examples given above for Old Irish and Chinese, we see that one of these processes is the manipulation of word order. Other languages use morphemes to signal this change of function, while tone languages often make use of tone.

One of the points that this article attempts to prove, is that this is precisely the function performed by the invariable copulative formatives, tonal changes, etc., in the formation of Bantu copulatives. These changes to the normal form of the "substantive" develop from a desire to indicate a change in function by a change in form. This is

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[1] This term is taken from Vendryes, *Language : A Linguistic Introduction to History*, who is a good source of information on this subject. After considering the highly detailed analysis into "parts of speech" which has been developed, he concludes that there are only two universally identifiable categories of words common to the psychology of all languages, viz. the "verb" and the "substantive", and under the latter heading fall adjectives, conjunctives and the like, while the verb stands more or less by itself. In this paper "substantive sentence" embraces this wide application of the term "substantive".

[2] With regard to the Semitic family, the fact that old Hebrew had no *copula* verb is strikingly illustrated by the translators of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament, who religiously placed "is" and "are" in italics, to indicate that these were new elements introduced into the text.

Bantu's first and most typical modification to the pure "substantive sentence", which seems to have existed in old Bantu just as it did in most of the other language families of the world.

We have said that language recognizes a difference between a predicate which is formed from a verb, and that which is based on a non-verbal part of speech, just as it distinguishes between "verb" and "substantive" and their respective functions. There are certain characteristics which will separate these two types of sentences in any language. The verbal predicate describes some action or state connected with its subject and usually bears some intrinsic reference to the time factor. (Different languages approach the concept of time in different ways. Some look only at the durative aspect, others at the aspect of complete or incomplete action, while others deal only with specific points in time.) In addition, most languages can modify the application of the action of the verb, and such modifications are usually treated under the heading of "mood". Many languages convey these fine shades of tense and mood significance by morphemes applied internally or externally to the verb stem,[1] and these formatives are native to the verb category. Another aspect of the verbal predicate is the ability to direct the action towards a certain object and thus introduce a third term into the sentence (the "object").

In the "substantive sentence" however, a certain attribute, state or quality is ascribed to a certain person, animal or thing, and the sentence comprises two terms only: the attribute and the object to which it ascribed, i.e. the predicate and subject respectively of the "substantive sentence", and there is no possibility of introducing a third term by way of an object. In addition, the "substantive sentence" bears no intrinsic time or mood reference. It is in fact a complete persisting state, and without the assistance of a verb these additional significances cannot be conveyed. It is at this point that the "*copula*" verbs are introduced into the construction. The presence of these verbs arises out of the inability of the simple "sub-stantive sentence" to attach any time or mood reference to its predicate. The process is one of taking a living verb and putting it into the "substantive sentence" and manipulating it in the accepted fashion to indicate tense, mood, etc. By a process of analogical extension, many Indo-European and other languages have brought this *copula* verb into all forms of the "substantive sentence", and there is no longer any form which omits it. It is precisely this process that gives us our ubiquitous verb "to be", and the belief in the necessity for a linking, "*copula*" verb in the pure "substantive sentence" is entirely erroneous. The verbs which various languages have introduced in this way constitute a wide range, amply illustrating the fact that there is no universal verb "to be". Once these verbs have been absorbed in this way, they lose their meaning and become "empty" words, lending their form but not their significance to assist in the construction. Occasionally however, the old meaning may re-emerge to lend that shade of significance to the "substantive sentence", which they possessed as true living verbs. (Cf. U-B[2] *-va* and the manner in which its "to become" significance sometimes colours copulative predicates.) Quite frequently, a verb, once it has been earmarked for the "substantive sentence", loses its place among the living verbs of the language, and is forever doomed to service in the "substantive sentence" as a meaningless inflectionable base.

In making a comparative study of the copulative construction in a number of languages of the Bantu family, some system of classifying the information which each language yields is obviously of value. A framework of subheadings has therefore been designed which covers most of the distinctive features and peculiarities of the construction, and forms a useful basis for collating the material. All Bantu languages are alike in sharing these features, but nearly all are different as to the actual forms which they take. Information classified according to the scheme given below, will include all the important differences which exist between one language and another, the main

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[1] A language like Chinese however, uses "dating" or "time" words rather than morphological changes.

[2] Abbreviation used for "Ur-Bantu". Note that U-B words are written in the Meinhof manner in this paper.

difficulty being that the material is not always available for extraction, as many Bàntu grammarians have either not noticed certain important facts, or seen fit to ignore them. This subdivision is possible, because, in the evolution of this grammatical construction, Bantu languages generally have come to follow different methods of formation, corresponding to the main "parts of speech" division. Although valuable in a comparative study, this scheme is not always successful when applied to a highly detailed study of the construction in an individual language, because these categories are by no means hard and fast or mutually exclusive as regards method of formation. The suggested framework for classifying the information, which is given below, and its terminology, is in part the one adopted by Mrs. E. O. Ashton in her *Swahili Grammar*, and developed further by D. T. Cole in his dissertation "Introductory Notes on the Tswana Language":

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PART A (Plain predication)
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1. Copulative of Identification
2. Copulative of Description
3. Adverbial Copulative
4. Copulative of Association

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PART B (The conjugation)
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1. Base of the Copulative
2. Auxiliary Verbs
3. Concordial Representation of Subjects in Copulative Predicates.

Part A which deals with plain copulative predicates, examines the simplest form of the copulative – the pure "substantive sentence", which merely ascribes a certain attribute to a particular object and excludes any reference to tense or mood. Note, however, that in form it may not necessarily be the pure "substantive sentence", because some Bantu languages have developed the use of verbal concords in certain types of copulative construction. The concords are usually attached to a copulative auxiliary verb, the function of the latter being as a verbal base to which essentially verbal prefixal elements are attached, and it is not a linking, "*copula*" verb. (This method of copulative formation we refer to as the "verbal method".) Under the

Copulative of Identification, which examines copulative formation from substantives, we will be looking mainly for invariable proclitic copulative formatives,[1] which are a real feature of these copulatives and are seldom found outside of the substantive category. Tonal change is also an important method of copulative formation under this heading. By these two main methods of forming copulatives from substantives, we are presented with a unique form of the predicate in Bantu which has no class reference, i.e. plain impersonal predication, or as they are called in this paper "simple impersonal copulatives".

The Copulative of Description and the Adverbial Copulative can sometimes be grouped under a single heading in individual languages, as copulative formation from qualificatives and adverbs is identical. A comparative study reveals that this is not always the case however, and this necessitates a separation of these two parts of speech. For instance, there is the manner in which the substantival nature of the adverb often reveals itself in the ability of adverbs to use the invariable copulative formatives of the substantive category to form plain copulative predicates. Although adjectives often follow the substantive in method of copulative formation, the verbal method has, in some languages, been developed for the Copulative of Description. This latter method is very common in the Adverbial Copulative. Of interest to students of South-Eastern Bantu languages will be the wide use of a copulative auxiliary verb (usually U-B *-li*) to which subjectival concords are attached in copulative predicates, and the comparative rarity of the direct prefixing of subjectival concords to non-verbal stems, which is widespread in the South-Eastern Zone. In the comparative study which follows, paucity of information in the sources available, and the need for brevity, more or less limits the Copulative of Description to adjectival copulatives, and the Adverbial Copulative to locative adverbial copulatives.

Copulatives formed with the conjunctive formative (*na–, ni–*, etc.) are separated from the main

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[1] The term "invariable" is used somewhat loosely in languages like Zulu, in that certain of these formatives are associated with certain noun classes only.

body of adverbial copulatives for several reasons. Firstly, there is its special significance of "to have" and its wide use with that significance. Secondly, there are peculiarities in constructing the Copulative of Association in many languages which clearly justify its separation. The manner in which certain verbal characteristics of this formative reveal themselves in many parts of the Bantu area, have led to the development of a theory regarding its origin from a true verb stem.

Part B covers the forms of the copulative predicate when it acquires most of the shades of tense and mood significance of which the verb is capable. The subjectival concords used, rarely differ from those of the verb, although there are some important and interesting differences which justify the heading of B. 3. The need for an examination of the "Base of the Copulative" and "Auxiliary Verbs" will emerge when these aspects of the copulative construction are considered.

The desire to make this comparative study as comprehensive as possible has been realized by taking at least one representative language from each of the eleven zones. The available grammars and other published and unpublished material have been used as sources of information for most of the languages which are dealt with. In a few cases the writer has undertaken his own research with native speakers of the languages and such languages are marked with an asterisk in the following list. Examples from these latter languages

are recorded in phonetic script wherever the writer has been unfamiliar with the modern orthography. A conjunctive system of writing has generally been followed, but word division in examples culled from grammars, etc., has not been changed. The languages examined, together with their abbreviated titles are:

North Western Zone
  Mpongwe (Mp.)
Northern Zone
  Kikuyu (Kk.), Masaba (Ms.)
Congo Zone
  (Kishi)Kongo (Ko.), Ngala (Ng.)
Central Zone
  Lamba (La.), Ila (Il.), Tonga (To.)
Eastern Zone
  Gogo (Go.), Kuria (Ku.), Mwera (Mw.)
North Eastern Zone
  Swahili (Sw.)
East Central Zone
  Nsenga (Ns.), Makua (Mk.), Nyanja* (Ny.)
South Central Zone
  Shona (Sh.)
Western Zone
  Herero* (He.), Mbundu* (Mb.)
West Central Zone
  Luvale (Lu.)
South Eastern Zone
  (Gi)Tonga* (of Inhambane) (Tg.), Xhosa* (Xh.), Southern Sotho* (Ss.), Zulu* (Zu.).

A

1. THE COPULATIVE OF IDENTIFICATION

Mp. Formative *ni* with nouns and pronouns: *Nare ni nama* (The ox is an animal). There is also evidence of the tonal method:

(i) *Nkala yino n'iyami* or (ii) *Nkala yino iyami* (That village is mine). In (ii) the second syllable of *iyami* is said to be "accentuated".

In the negative, *aranga* (derived from verb –*tanga* "to think, believe", etc.) is the equivalent of *ni*: *Ofe arang'aye* (The robber is not he).

Kk. Formative *ni* with nouns and pronouns: *Nyamŭ io nĭ mŭrŭthi* (That animal is a lion). *Mwana wake ni ŭria* (Her child is that one).

In the negative, formative *ti* is used: *Ti guo* (It is not that – an affair).

Ms. With nouns, verb forms incorporating auxiliary verb –*li* (or –*ri*). Formative *ni*– with absolute and demonstrative pronouns: *Tsiri ngafu ndahi* (They are good cows). *Tsingafu nibwo bubwikasya* (Cows are wealth). *Nikyokino* (It is this one – a tree).

In the negative, verb forms are used : *Hikiri-kyo* (It is not it – a tree).

Ko. Formative *i* with nouns and pronouns:

I imfumu (It is a chief). *I yau yiyi* (It is this; lit.: it is it, this).

Examples of negative forms are lacking.

Ng. Formatives *nta, nde, nga*[1] with nouns and pronouns. Also *wete*, which is apparently a relic of an original verb form:

Nga bango (It is they). *Nde mankeke* (They are bamboos). *Wete ngai* (It is I).

Examples of the negative are lacking.

La. (i) Formative *ni–* with nouns and pronouns with no initial vowel or with prefix *iN–*.

(ii) Formative *ē–* [ɛ:][2] with all nouns and pronouns after elision of initial vowel where it occurs. This is an alternative to other methods.

(iii) By raising the tone on the second syllable of nouns after elision of the initial vowel.

(i) *Nitāta* (It is my father). *Isyo nimbwa syēsu* (Those are our dogs).

(ii) *Ēmuntu* (It is a person).

(iii) *'Wantu* (They are people) (< *awantu*).

In the negative, only verb forms incorporating the auxiliary verb *–li* are found: *Tatuli 'tutemo* (They are not axes).

II. Nouns and pronouns use formatives built up from the homorganic nasal plus typical consonant of the class prefix plus a vowel, which is usually the primary or secondary vowel associated with the class prefix. 1st and 2nd person absolute pronouns use *ndi*:

Ngu muntu (It is a person). *Mbo bantu* (They are people). *Ndi wena* (It is you).

In the negative, verb forms with *–li* are used: *Takuli kutwi* (It is not an ear). *Tabuli buzane* (It is not meat).

To. Formatives very similar to those of Ila are used, although the plain homorganic nasal commonly appears as one of these formatives. *Ndi* and *ndu* occur with 1st and 2nd person absolute pronouns:

Inyama eyi ngu muchila (This meat is the tail). *Nkaleba* (It is an axe) (< *kaleba*).

In the negative the form is the same as in Ila.

Go. Formatives identical with the monosyllabic absolute pronouns are used with nouns and pronouns:

Yo yiyi (It is this – Class 9). *Nanye wo muwili wa Kristo* (And I' am the body of Christ).

The negative simply infixes *si*: *Yo*[3] *si nene* (It is not I).

Ku. Formative *ni–* with pronouns and nouns. (The initial vowels of the latter are elided.) *Ni–* sometimes becomes the homorganic nasal:

Niligina (It is a stone) (< *eligina*). *Mbaitu* (It is us) (< *baitu*). *Nikyo* (It is it – Class 7).

Examples of the negative are lacking.

Mw. (i) Merely by lowering the tone on the noun prefix:

(ii) Nouns and pronouns may also use formative *ni–*.

(i) *Cindu aci ,liji* (This thing is an egg) (< *liji*).

(ii) *Niunami* (It is a lie). *Nijo* or *niyajo* (It is it – Class 1).

Examples of the negative are lacking.

Sw. (i) Formative *ni* with nouns and qualificative pronouns; formative *ndi–* with absolute pronouns.

(ii) A rarer method is the mere juxtaposing of the two unaltered terms of the construction.

(i) *Hamisi ni mpishi* (Hamisi is a cook). *Ni changu* (It is mine). *Kitabu hiki ndicho* (This book is the one).

(ii) *Sisi wapagazi* (We are porters). *Kisu changu hiki* (My knife is this one).

In the negative *si* replaces *ni* or *ndi–*: *Si kitabu* (It is not a book).

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[1] Here, as in Ila, Tonga, Makua, (Gi)Tonga, etc., the choice of formative depends on the class of the substantive. (Note that all formatives of languages which use a disjunctive method of writing are written without hyphens.)

[2] Examples in phonetic script are enclosed in brackets thus [ ].

[3] *Yo* is the absolute pronoun of Classes 1 and 9. (Note that Meinhof's U-B class numbering is used throughout this paper.)

Ns. Formative *ni–* with nouns and pronouns:
Muntu nimfumu (The person is a chief). *Nine* (It is I).

In the negative, formative *nte–* replaces *ni–*:
Ntemuntu (It is not a person).

Mk. Formatives *pa, pe, pi, po, pu* with nouns and pronouns:
Pi weo (It is you). *Apwiaka pa mwene* (My master is a chief).

In the negative verb forms with *–ri* are used.

Ny. Formative [*ndi*] with nouns and pronouns.
Verb forms can also be used however, the difference in significance between the former and the latter apparently being that between an emphatic and an unemphatic statement:
[*munthu ndimwana*] (The person is a child). [*ndiinɛ*] (It is I). [*ndizanga*] (They are mine – shoes). [*mkazi ndimunthu*] or [*mkazi aṛi munthu*] (The woman is a person).

In the negative formative [*sindi*] replaces [*ndi*].

Sh. (i) Nouns other than those of Classes 1(a), 5, 9, and 10 merely raise the tone on the first syllable.[1] Nouns of Classes 5, 9, and 10 prefix *i–* and give it a high tone.

(ii) Pronouns generally, and Class 1(a) nouns, use formative *ndi–*. The vowel of *ndi–* disappears in the face of initial secondary vowels of certain pronouns.

(i) *Uyu munhu 'musori* (This person is a spy). *'Iβanga* (It is a knife).

(ii) *Ndiβaβa* (It is father). *Ndiye uyu mukomana* (This is the boy).

In the negative, verb forms with *–ri* are used, but it appears that *–ri* can often be omitted, leaving only the concords and infixes. The Manyika dialect uses formatives *handi–* or *sandi–*: *Haasiri mupfuri* (He is not a smith). *Harisi βadza* (It is not a hoe).

He. Plain juxtaposing, with neither substantive undergoing any tonal[2] or morphological

change. When no subject is expressed, there is a possible tendency to introduce an absolute pronoun of the same class as the substantive of the predicate, as the first of the two juxtaposed terms:
[*ɔmwatʃɛ ɔmundu*] (The child is a person). [*ɛjɛ ɔmuhɔna*] (He is a chief). [*ɛmbɔ laṇdʒɛ*] The book is mine *or* my book).

The negative substantival copulative appears to embody a prefix [*ha*] and suffix [*kɔ*] : [*hajɛkakɔ*] < [*ha*+ *ɛjɛ* + *ka* + *kɔ*] (It is not he).

Mb. Formation by exactly the same method as Herero in positive and negative forms:
[*ɛji ɔmbwa*] (It is a dog). [*amɛ*] (It is I *or* I). [*haŋgɔmbɛkɔ*] < [*ɔŋgɔmbɛ*] (It is not an ox).

Lu. Plain juxtaposing as in Herero and Mbundu, except for 1st and 2nd person absolute pronouns and demonstrative pronouns, which have special inflected forms for use as possessives, locative adverbs and copulatives. A prefixal formative *hi–* appears occasionally in a number of very special copulative constructions:
Lisanga (It is an egg *or* an egg). *Ou mama* (This is my mother). *Ou, you tata* (This – this is my father).

In the negative, negative subjectival concords are used with a verbal base *–exi* [*ɛʃi*].

Tg. (i) Formatives *ku* and *ki* with nouns and pronouns.
(ii) Plain juxtaposing.

(i) *Oyu kuye* (This one is he). *Lina laye ku Johani* (His name is John). *Ki likumi xitukulwana* (It is 14 generations).

(ii) *Njofu girengo* (The elephant is an animal).
In the negative, formative *kandi* is used: *Kandi eni* (It is not I).

Xh. With nouns, formatives *ng–* (Classes 1, 2, 3, 6) *y–* (Classes 4, 9) accompany a tonal change from high to low on the first syllable. With other classes the typical consonant of the

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[1] Cf. O'Neil's *A Shona Grammar* where it is stated that there is special "stress or emphasis" on the initial syllable. (2nd edition, page 103, par. 4 (ii).)

[2] In this and other languages which the writer has investigated personally, special attention has been paid to the tonal aspect, and, excluding the possibility of a defect in the writer's ear as regards the interpretation of tones, tonal data can be taken as correct.

prefix is used as formative, giving reduplicated forms such as *sisi–*, *lili–*, etc. With consonant commencing pronouns, these formatives acquire a vowel which is the typical vowel of the prefix – *ngu–*, *nga–*, *yi–*, *si–*,[1] *li–*,[1] etc.:

Ngumlambo (It is a river). *Lilitye* (It is a stone). *Ngaɓo* (It is they – Class 2). *Zeezi* (It is those – Class 10).

In the negative, there is a choice between invariable formative *asi–* and the use of negative subjectival concords:

Asihhashi	(It is not a horse)
Asililo ihhashi	or
Alililo ihhashi	(It is not the horse)

Ss. Formative *ke–* [*ki*] with all nouns and pronouns.

No tonal change accompanies copulative formation:

Batho kebasali (The people are women). *Likhômo tsêna ketsahae* (These cattle are his).

In the negative the equivalent of *ke–* is *hase–*:

Hasemotho (It is not a person). *Hasetsaka* (They are not mine – books).

Zu. The most important change which substantives undergo in copulative formation is one of tone. All substantives which have an initial vowel (nouns, and adjectival, possessive and relative qualificative pronouns) lower the tone on that initial vowel (which is in all cases either a high or mid tone).[2] This is the fundamental change, the use of copulative formatives in addition is common but quite optional. All other substantives (absolute and demonstrative pronouns, and enumerative qualificative pronouns)[3] are consonant commencing and they undergo no tonal changes in copulative formation and the use of copulative formatives is essential with them. A very wide range of copulative formatives exists in Zulu:

w– Forms copulatives from nouns beginning in *u–*. The alternative *ng–* is generally preferred: *Wumfana muphi ohlakaniphile kangaka?* (Which boy is it who is so clever?)

y– Forms copulatives from nouns beginning in *i–*: *Yindoda*[4] (It is a man) (< *indoda*).

l– Forms copulatives from nouns of Classes 5 and 11, only when they bear the shortened prefix however, i.e. there is no repetition of *l–* when the copulative is formed: *Likati* (It is a cat) (< *ikati*). *Luthi* (It is a stick) (< *uthi*)

ng– Forms copulatives from substantives commencing in vowels *a–*, *e–*, *o–*, and *u–* (except nouns of Class 11 which use *l–* with shortened prefix and tone only with the long prefix): *Ngaɓantu* (They are people) (< *aɓantu*). *Ngumfazi* (It is a woman) (< *umfazi*). *Ngomunye umfana* (It is another boy) (< *omunye umfana*).

The copulative formatives appear in the following fuller forms when used with consonant commencing substantives:

ngu– (or more rarely plain *u–*) Forms copulatives from 2nd and 3rd persons singular absolute pronouns, and, alternating with *yi–*, forms enumerative qualificative pronominal copulatives with roots –*phi* and –*ni* in all classes with typical –*u–* in the concord: *wena* > *Nguwena* or *Uwena* or *Nguwe* or *Uwe* (It is you). *Umuphi* (or *ngumuphi*) *umfana omfunayo?* (Which boy do you want?) *Ngukuni khona lokho okushoyo?* (What is that you say?).

yi–[5] (or more rarely *i–*) This is the most common copulative formative in Zulu. It demonstrates a power possessed by no other formative

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[1] These formatives are sometimes regarded as subjectival concords. This is believed to be a wrong assumption, because a comparative study shows that the use of subjectival concords in forming plain substantival copulatives is most rare, and such an important and unusual development would surely have affected all classes. A suggestion as to the true nature of these formatives is given later.

[2] Tone is indicated by marking the level on each syllable thus: (-*u-mu_ntu*). Zulu is regarded as a language with two tonemes ; a high and a low.

[3] Note (i) Quantitative pronouns have a distinct "qualificative" treatment in copulative formation, and are regarded as such in this paper.

(ii) Copulative formation from enumeratives and their pronominal equivalents is restricted and has a number of exceptional features. In particular, tonal data in this paragraph should be ignored as far as enumeratives are concerned. See footnote 3 on page 153.

[4] Or the mere change of tone is sufficient to indicate the copulative: e.g. (-*i_ndo_da*) (a man) > (_*i_ndo_da*) (It is a man).

[5] Basically this formative is *i–*, and *yi–* is merely a strengthened version. There are other examples outside of the copulative of the desire to strengthen a bare initial *i–* in Zulu.

in being able to cause the elision of the initial vowel of nouns [1], and is in fact, nearest to original *ni–, which is postulated as the original copulative formative in U-B. It forms copulatives from all the absolute (except 2nd and 3rd person singular) and demonstrative pronouns, and enumerative qualificative pronouns; and also adverbs and conjunctives: *bona* > *Ibona* or *Yibo* (It is they). *leli* > *Yileli* or *Ileli* (It is this one – a horse). *umuzi muphi* > *Yimuphi umuzi?* (Which kraal is it?) *Injongo yalomhlangano yikuzwa* (< *ukuzwa*) *okushiwo yinkosi.* (The aim of the meeting is to hear what is said by the chief.)

A very rare form of copulative construction from nouns beginning in *u–* has recently been noted. In this construction, ordinary nouns beginning in *u–* do not use the normal formatives associated with this vowel, but *y–*: e.g. *Yumfazi* (It is a woman). This is regarded as a survival in dialect of an older and much wider use of the *i–* vowel in copulative formation, and contributes something towards substantiating the theory as to the original form of the copulative formative in U-B.

In form, the negative equivalent of the simple impersonal substantival copulative exemplifies the verbal method. Use is made of Class 15 (or 17) negative subjectival concord *aku–*, which is prefixed to the copulative form of the substantive. The common contractions of the copulative, and use of an old negative copulative infix *–si–* instead of a copulative formative, result in the following wide variety of forms: [2]

Akugeja	⎫	
Akusigeja	⎪	
Akuyigeja	⎬ (It is not a hoe)	
Akuyilo igeja	⎪ or	
Akusilo igeja	⎪ (It is not the hoe)	
Akulona igeja	⎭	

But it is only in form that the construction is "verbal". In function *aku–* is the exact counterpart of the invariable copulative formatives which have been noticed in other languages. The copulative predicates of which it is a part, are quite impersonal and may be used no matter what the class or type of subject. (Cf. the truly verbal method of formation in Ila, Tonga and Lamba.) In Zulu the *ku–* concord seems to have acquired the nature of an invariable, impersonal, copulative formative element for use in the copulative construction generally. For example, *ku–* is also used as a true invariable concord in the copulative conjugation (see B. 3). This new development as regards the character of *ku–* is something peculiar to Zulu, and does not occur in her sister language Xhosa.

Conclusions

In this comparative survey the following methods of substantival copulative formation have been demonstrated.

(1) Invariable copulative formatives
(2) Tonal change
(3) Plain juxtaposing
(4) Verb forms. [3] (This is very rare and has only been noted in a limited way in Masaba and Nyanja.)

Of all these methods (1) and (2) are by far the most common, although the lack of tone consciousness in many grammarians renders inconclusive decisions on this method of formation.

In examining the invariable copulative formatives of all languages, the evidence points overwhelmingly to an original *ni– from which these formatives have been derived. This *ni– has naturally not been immune to sound changes, but we can identify the main trends in sound changes which have affected this particular morphological unit, by comparing copulative *ni– with two other

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[1] This is practically confined to Class 15 nouns.
[2] With regard to this construction, Zulu seems to have followed a line of development different from that of the other Nguni languages. Ndebele and Xhosa use true invariable copulative formatives and have only two or three forms of the construction, with a clear cut difference in significance between them. In essence, this difference is that between a definite and indefinite noun in the copulative predicate, corresponding to the

use or non-use of the absolute pronoun base. (See page 152 for a more detailed comparison of the Nguni languages.)
[3] Note, however, that practically all languages which have simple impersonal copulative predicates for 3rd person reference in all classes, will use the verbal method for 1st and 2nd persons. This is because the ability to convey 1st and 2nd person reference is practically confined to the subjectival concords.

morphemes which were originally identical with it, viz. 1st person, singular, subjectival concord and Class 9 noun prefix. These three *ni-* morphemes have not always mutated uniformly because they have not been exposed to identical phonological influences. (The Class 9 prefix is in constant contact with its stem and mutual influences are in this case likely to be far more intimate and fundamental than with copulative *ni-.*) But a comparison with the Class 9 prefix *ni-*, for instance, indicates the strong tendency for *ni-* to become the homorganic nasal (*N*). Those languages which still use *ni-* in its unaltered form (plus those with *N* which is undoubtedly derived from it) are: Mpongwe, Kikuyu, Masaba,[1] Lamba,[1] Tonga,[1] Kuria, Mwera, Swahili,[1] Nsenga. We may examine the other copulative formatives for any traces of *ni-* in their make-up. *Ndi-* (Nyanja, Ila, Tonga, Swahili, Shona) we can accept as a common end-product of a widespread type of sound shifting which has affected the original *ni-* morpheme. (See Meinhof's comparative table of pronouns at the end of his *Grundzüge einer vergleichenden Grammatik der Bantusprachen*, where the manner in which the 1st person subjectival concord has become *ndi-* in many languages is clearly illustrated.) In formatives like *nta*, *nde*, *nga* (Ngala), *ngu*, *mbo*, *ndu*, etc. (Ila), *mba*, *nka*, etc. (Tonga), *ngu-* (Zulu, Xhosa), we can identify *ni-* as the nasal consonant (obviously homorganic in most cases). But in these examples *ni-* has been subject to the corroding influence of another morpheme, with which it has obviously had a long and close association, and in this connection we postulate Meinhof's prefix *ya-*. Meinhof believed that this prefixal formative originally attached a definite, emphatic or some similar significance to a substantive, and eventually became so bound up with the noun prefix in some languages, as to result in what is to-day the initial syllable of disyllabic prefixes. Thus there existed in old Bantu a possible prefixal unit of *ni-* + *ya-*. The fact that in many languages the original vowel of the *ni-* formative has been lost, arises either out of

the process of becoming the homorganic nasal, or out of the strong tendency for the *ɣ* consonant to disappear, leaving the two vowels juxtaposed. The vowel of *ya-*, which in some languages had probably already assimilated itself to the vowel of the original monosyllabic prefix, has nearly always proved too strong for the *-i* of *ni-*, and we often find, as in Zulu for instance, formatives like *ngu-*, *nga-* in which *ng-* < *ni-*,[2] and *-u,* *-a*, etc. < *-a* of *ya-*.

In a number of cases the nasal consonant of *ni-* has proved unstable in the process of sound shifting, and we find it heavily disguised, as for instance, in the *ke-* formative of Southern Sotho. There is no doubt however, that *ke-* comes from original *ni-*, because the 1st person, singular, subjectival concord is also *ke-*. In Makua also, whose phonology has much in common with the Sotho languages, we presume that similar influences have given rise to a voiceless plosive consonant in the *pa, pe, pi, po, pu* formatives. (Note that the 1st person subjectival concord is *ki-*.) The same may also be true for (Gi)Tonga.

Another common tendency has been towards the sloughing off of the nasal consonant. This gives us the *i* formative of (Kishi)Kongo. A similar change has occurred in Tsonga of the South-Eastern Zone, in which we have *Imunhu* (It is a person) (< *munhu*), but for a noun like *vavanuna* (men) there exists a copulative form *Mbavanuna*, in which there is obviously a relic of the use of the old *ni-* formative. This is the manner in which we arrive at the formative *yi-* (and *i-*) in Zulu, and because these formatives are typically associated with pronouns, in which there has been no corroding *ya-* element, a form close to original *ni-* has been preserved. The fact that the Class 9 prefix was originally *ni-* has also tended towards the preservation of the original form. But this tendency to the loss of the nasal occurs even after the vowel of the prefixal unit, which is the descendant of the old combination *ni-* + *ya-*, had become assimilated to the vowel of the noun prefix, and we thus find plain *u-* as copulative formative, consonantalizing

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[1] In these languages *ni-* is not used indiscriminately with all substantives, but is restricted to certain members of that category.

[2] Note how the subjectival concord *ni-* has also become *ngi-*.

to *w*– before vowels. We shall postpone for the time being a consideration of the copulative formatives of Gogo, and the *l*- of Zulu, and the prefixal consonants of Xhosa. Limitations of space prevent an examination of the *ē*– of Lamba.

It is suggested that this comparative study provides sufficient evidence of the existence in an archaic form of Bantu of the common method of forming the "substantive sentence" by merely juxtaposing two morphologically unaltered substantives. Its presence to-day at the extremes of the Bantu area (Herero, Mbundu, Luvale, (Gi)Tonga, Swahili) is the basis for this conclusion. It would seem that there arose at some later stage a desire to indicate in the make-up of the word the change of function for a substantive functioning predicatively. But before there was any development of this new trend in the language psychology of Bantu, there took place the migration of the peoples of the Western and West Central Zones from the Bantu cradle-land. The languages of these people possess the outstanding feature of the mere juxtaposing of the two terms in the "substantive sentence", and there are no rival forms to this ancient method of formation. It would seem that they missed the later innovation of *ni*– as signalizer of the substantive functioning predicatively, which was apparently one of the first ways of expressing the new trend.

As to the origin of *ni*–, we deduce that it was originally a prefixal formative used with substantives to impart some minor modification to their significance. In the process of time, and while U-B speakers were still a comparatively homogeneous group, this formative came to be associated so often with the substantive functioning as predicate, that it began to acquire a new function as signalizer of the substantive as copulative. This process was therefore one in which one of the traditional formatives of the substantive category acquired a new and specialized association with substantives, instead of an older and more general one.

There are several facts, some of them supplied by the history of language in general, which lead

to these conclusions. Looking at language generally, we never find a particular set of formative elements which are peculiar to the "copulative" category, such as find for the "noun" and "verb" categories for instance. There are no special, individual, formative elements for use with the "substantive sentence" either in the pure form or in the conjugation. Everything in connection with it is borrowed – the auxiliary verbs, for instance, are borrowed from the stock of true verbs. Similarly, we deduce, elements like copulative formatives are borrowed. There is also the fact that in order to fulfil new morphological needs, language does not create morphemes, but borrows them, or makes use of existing ones. In the case of *ni*– it seems that the substantive has used one of its own native formatives, for although there are indications of an original non-copulative use of *ni*– with substantives, there is nothing to indicate any original association with verbs, where subjectival concords would surely have been the most likely formatives to use. There is, in fact, definite evidence that the substantive is uneasy about using verbal formatives directly in copulative constructions. Masaba provides an example of an earlier non-copulative use of *ni*– with substantives, in that the form of the 3rd person, plural, absolute pronoun (i.e. the non-copulative form) is to-day either *nibo* or *abo*.

As for the other methods of substantival copulative formation, it is believed that these too were created for the purpose of symbolizing the change of function. The tonal change method is the simplest of all methods of ringing the changes on the make-up of the word. It involves no new morphological elements, and is concerned only with the most manipulable part of the structure of the word – its tone pattern. The fact that there is no uniformity in the nature of the tonal change [1] suggests that this method has not been acquired from a single source, but was a spontaneous development in a number of Bantu languages after the break-up of the original homogeneous group had begun.

The lopping off of the initial syllables of noun

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[1] Lamba and Shona raise the tone while Zulu lowers it. Moreover, it is not the same syllable which is involved in each case. See also Mwera's unique method of forming adjectival copulatives.

prefixes when forming copulatives, or adding to them the typical vowels and consonants of their class prefixes, is regarded as a return to an older form of the noun prefix. In Classes 5 and 11, Zulu revives a defunct *l–*; Xhosa in many of her nominal copulatives apparently revives the full redupli-cated noun prefix (this, of course, is in keeping with Meinhof's ideas); while Lamba goes even further back to the old monosyllabic prefix. Why the "substantive sentence" should tend to preserve the older noun prefixes in its predicates is not always clear, but it is suggested that when there is a significant shift in the tone level of a syllable associated with a particular grammatical concept like the copulative, such a factor will tend to the preservation of that syllable.

The Gogo method of copulative formation, with its formatives which are identical in form to the absolute pronouns and pronominal enclitics, seems to be just another type of modification to the pure "substantive sentence". In Mbundu and Herero, there appears to be a tendency to introduce the absolute pronoun as the first of the two juxtaposed terms, particularly when the subject of the copula-tive predicate is not expressed. There may have been the same tendency in an earlier form of Gogo, but the use of these absolute pronouns later became so common, that they eventually fused with the copulative predicate and assumed the nature of copulative formatives. It should be noted that in all these methods of formation, the construction is fundamentally the plain juxtaposing of the two terms, with various types of modification to the "predicate". The interposing of a "*copula*" verb, for instance, is quite foreign.

In constructing the negative form of the plain substantival copulatives, the two commonest methods are (1) the verbal method (Mpongwe, Masaba, Lamba, Ila, Tonga, Makua, Shona, Lu-vale) and (2) the use of invariable negative copula-tive formatives (Kikuyu, Gogo, Swahili, Nsenga, Nyanja, (Gi)Tonga, Xhosa, Southern Sotho). It is not possible, however, to postulate any original negative equivalent of **ni–*, from which these latter formatives have been derived. On the contrary, they nearly all appear to be contracted verb forms which have hardened into invariable

formatives. Nearly all embody the typical prefix *a–* (*ha–*, *ka–*, etc.) of the negative conjugation, and a morpheme *–si–*, whose association with the nega-tive conjugation of both verb and copulative can be illustrated by examples from many languages. The Nguni languages are admirable illustrations of the close relationship between the truly verbal method of negative copulative formation and the invariable copulative formative method; and how natural is the process of one developing from the other. Compare the forms of the negative copula-tive of Zulu on page 149 with the equivalent con-structions in her closely related sister languages Xhosa and Ndebele.

XHOSA: *Asililo ikhuɓa* (It is not the hoe)
           Asikhuɓa (It is not a hoe)
NDEBELE: *Ka si lona ikuba* (It is not the hoe)
           Ka si kuba (It is not a hoe)

In these examples the two languages demonstrate the use of true invariable negative copulative formatives *asi–* and *kasi–* (and, incidentally, a difference in significance which has almost dis-appeared in Zulu). Although Zulu has to a large extent lost the old negative infix *–si–*, it conve-niently retains it in certain alternative forms of the negative substantival copulative, for example, *Akusigeja* (It is not a hoe). It is only necessary for this negative copulative to drop the constantly repeated syllable *–ku–*, in order to produce the form *Asigeja*. Zulu thus provides an excellent example of a possible manner in which invariable negative copulative formatives develop out of the verbal method of formation. Plain *si–* (Swahili, Gogo and also possibly Kikuyu), as negative formative, seems to be the most extreme contrac-tion of an original verb form, while formatives like [*sindi*] of Nyanja are also fairly obvious contractions.

2. THE COPULATIVE OF DESCRIPTION

Mp. Formation by either (i) the verbal method or (ii) tonal change:

(i) *Nkal'iyami yi re mpolo* or (ii) *Nkal'iyami mpolo* (My village is great). In (ii) the second syllable of *mpolo* is said to "accentuated".

Kk. Formation by invariable formative *ni* (cf. substantives):
Miti ni miingi (The trees are many).

Ma. Plain juxtaposing after elision of the first syllable of the disyllabic adjectival concord:
Tsingafu mbi (The cows are bad) (< *tsimbi*)

Ko. Plain juxtaposing:[1]
E mbele inene (A big knife *or* The knife is big).

Ng. Formation by either (i) the verbal method or (ii) plain juxtaposing:
(i) *Ndaku yena elo enene* (That house is big).
(ii) *Ndaku yiyi mbi* (These houses are bad).

La. The tone on the first syllable is raised after elision of initial vowel of disyllabic concords:
Umuntu 'mukulu (The person is big) (< *umukulu*).

Il. Formation by (i) the verbal method (ii) invariable formatives which are used with substantives:
(i) *Bantu bali babotu* (The people are good).
(ii) *Bantu mbabotu* (The people are good).[2]

To. Formation by (i) the verbal method (ii) plain juxtaposing:
(i) *Mwalumi uli mubotu* (The man is good).
(ii) *Mwalumi mubotu* (The man is good).

Go. Plain juxtaposing:
Wihuwilo wuwaha (Great faith *or* Faith is great).

Mw. Formation by modification to the tone pattern in which a trisyllabic adjective raises the tone on the penultimate syllable and disyllabic adjectives the tones on both syllables. Adjectives functioning pronominally use formative *ni–*.

Sw. Formation by either (i) subjectival concords prefixed directly to adjective (ii) plain juxtaposing:

(i) *U mbovu* (It is rotten – tree).
(ii) *Mti huu mbovu* (This tree is rotten).

Ns. Formation by invariable formative *ni–*:
Ndiweme (It is a good one – a word) (< *liweme*).

Ny. Formation by (i) plain juxtaposing or (ii) the use of invariable formative [*ndi*]:
[*ɲumba ɲaikuɾu*] (The house is big *or* a big house). [*ɲumba ndi ɲaikuɾu*] (lit.: The house is a big one).

Sh. Formation by raising the tone on the first syllable and, in Classes 5, 9, 10, introducing an initial *i–* in order to take that tone:
Banga iri 'itsa (This knife is new).

He. Formation by plain juxtaposing:
[*ɔmundu ɔmunɛnɛ*] (The person is big *or* a big person).

Mb. Plain juxtaposing as in Herero:
[*ɔmunu ɔnɛnɛ*] (The person is big *or* a big person).

Lu. Formation by plain juxtaposing:
Mutu uze wamunene (That person is big).

Xh. Copulative formation by simply eliding the initial vowel of the concord:
Abantu badala (The people are old) (< *abadala*).

Ss. Formation by using subjectival concords prefixed to the adjective shorn of its initial syllable:
Motho êo omobe (That person is bad).

Zu.[3] As in Xhosa by simply eliding the initial vowel:
Umfana mkhulu (The boy is big) (< *omkhulu*).

Conclusions

Except for a fairly common use of the verbal method, adjectival copulative formation follows, in the main, methods which have been noted in

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[1] Where plain juxtaposing is the method, the possibility of an unnoticed tonal change must be borne in mind.
[2] This is regarded as the pronominal use of the adjective, and these examples really fall under the Copulative of Identification. They are quoted here for purposes of comparison.

[3] Copulatives formed from the other qualificatives in Zulu are fairly conventional in form, but some peculiarities of the enumerative as copulative deserve mention. The direct method of copulative formation from these qualificatives is by a unique raising of the normally low tone on the first syllable (i.e. the enumerative concord).

substantival copulatives. The tonal method is common and plain juxtaposing (where only the context can determine whether it is a copulative or qualificative construction) occurs on a wider scale than with substantival copulatives. But for the attentions of *ni- plain juxtaposing, or at least the absence of morphological changes, would probably still be widespread in substantival copulatives.

But our acceptance of *ni-, and the impersonal copulative predicates which it forms, as a feature peculiar to substantival copulatives, requires examination in connection with the use of *ni- (or its descendent forms) in forming adjectival copulatives in some languages. With regard to this, the findings of T. M. H. Endemann in Tsonga are interesting.[1] He found that when an adjective is made a copulative by invariable formative i-, it abandons its traditional tone pattern for one of the typical tone patterns of the noun. It is suggested that whenever there is a choice between formation by means of an invariable formative and some other method, the former is not a copulative formed from a true qualificative, but from the pronominal use of that qualificative.

In some languages (Kikuyu, Nsenga and also Venda) the only method of formation is by using invariable formative(s). It is interesting that in these languages there is either complete identity in form between the adjectival concords and the noun prefixes, or identity in most of the noun classes. A full discussion on this point is not possible here, but we should bear in mind (1) that in many languages the recognition of "noun" and "adjective" as separate word categories according to form and function is almost impossible, and (2) the suggestion of Meinhof and others that the adjectives of present-day Bantu have developed from forms which were originally true substantives, and qualified other substantives by merely standing in appositional relationship with them. It

may be that in some languages "adjectives" are still "substantives".

3. THE ADVERBIAL COPULATIVE

Because of the almost universal use of verb forms in locative adverbial copulatives, it suffices that we merely give examples from each language:

Mp. *Wi re go nkala* (They are in the town).
Kk. *Ng'ombe irĭ rũĩũ* (The cattle are at the river).
Ko. *Ñsusu jina[2] mo* (The fowls are in there).
Ng. *Alo[3] wawa* (He is here).
La. *Ali muɲanda* (He is in the house).
To. *Uli kumunẓi* (He is in the village).
Go. *Cilagala cili mu liso lyako* (The mote is in your eye).
Ku. Verb forms incorporating –li.
Mw. *Nili pano* (I am here).
Ns. *Ẁantu ɓali mng'anda* (The people are in the house).
Mk. Verb forms incorporating –ri.
Ny. [ŋɔmbɛ ziri mdambɔ] (Cattle are in the field).
Sh. *Uana vari mukati* (The children are inside).
He. [ɔmwatʃɛ uɾi mɔɲdʒuwɔ] (The child is in the house).
Mb. [ɔkasi βɔɲdʒɔ][4] (He is in the hut).
Lu. *Vali muzuvo* (They are in the house).
Ss. *Motho omorênêng* (The person is at the chief's place).
Xh. *Umntwana usesixekweni* (The child is in the city).
Zu. *Amadoda asesiɓayeni* (The men are in the cattle kraal).

Swahili is omitted from these examples because it appears to construct its locative adverbial copulatives with the pronominal enclitics –po, –ko, –mo as base. To these, subjectival concords are prefixed directly, and the real locative adverb merely

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This method of formation direct from the qualificative occurs with one root only, viz –nye : e.g. *umuntu munye* (͟mu ͟nye) (one person) > *Munye* (͞mu-nye) *kuphela* (He is one only). The other roots –phi (which) and –ni (what) only occur as copulatives formed from the pronominal use of these qualificatives, and make use of the typical invariable formatives of the substantive. The raised tone on the initial syllable is retained in these pronominal copulatives. (The root –mbe never occurs in

copulative formation.)

[1] Paragraph 133 of his thesis "Die Intonasie van Tsonga".
[2] Auxiliary verb –na, instead of usual U-B *–li.
[3] Apparently the Ngala derivative from U-B *–li.
[4] The use of auxiliary verb U-B *–ikala is unusual in a copulative predicate with this simple present indicative tense significance.

tagged on behind: *Kisu kipo mezani* (The knife is on the table).

Conclusions

The salient feature of these copulatives is without doubt the extensive use of verb forms. The close association in grammar of verb and adverb seems to be reflected in copulative formation, just as the link between substantive and adjective is reflected in copulatives formed from the latter. But the substantival nature of adverbs is often apparent in their ability to use the invariable copulative formatives, which are typically associated with substantives.[1] Grammarians have often missed this feature and there is a general lack of examples:

La. *Nimukati* (It is within).
Mw. *Nin ñyumba* (It is the house).
Zu. *Yisendlini* (It is in the house).

These examples of locative copulatives illustrate an important point with regard to the verbal method of copulative formation, viz. that the presence of an auxiliary verb as base for subjective concords is far more common than its omission, a fact which students of South-Eastern Bantu languages are likely to overlook. (Only Swahili, Southern Sotho, Xhosa and Zulu omit it in the examples given above.) Moreover, there is sufficient evidence of the former existence of *-li* in the South-Eastern Bantu languages, for us to postulate an original universal use of this auxiliary verb in the Bantu language family, wherever there arose a desire to use subjective concords with non-verbal parts of speech.

4. THE COPULATIVE OF ASSOCIATION

Mp. Subjective concords + *-re* followed by conjunctive formative *na-* + substantive.
Are n'añgãndi (He is annoyed; lit.: he has annoyance).

Kk. Subjective concords + *-rī* followed by *na* + substantive. In the present tense and in the conjugation generally, the actual appearance of *na* is largely optional. Barlow [2] remarks that "'to have' and 'to be' is often determined only by context". Outside of the present and past indicative tenses, *-rī* gives place to the other copulative auxiliary verbs of which there are several. Except for one of them, these are the normal auxiliary verbs of the conjugation. The exception is *-gīa*, which Barlow says means "to get, possess, have", etc., and this verb is particularly associated with the Copulative of Association and not with the copulative conjugation in general, although its use lies mainly in the future tense:
Mūgūndu ūrī (na) mbumbe (The field has maize). *Ngigīa ithatu* (I have three). *Rīrīa ngagīa (na) mbūri ciakwa* (When I shall have my own goats).

Ms. Subjective concords + *-li* (or *-ri*) followed by *na* (or *ni*) + substantive:
Ndini kitabo (I have a book).

Ko. Conjunctive formative is *ya*. It is preceded by an auxiliary verb with subjective concords. An example in the past tense only has been found:
Bakedi yo madia mingi (They had much food).

Ng. Subjective concords + auxiliary verb followed by *na* + substantive:
Alo na nkita yike (He has much riches).

La. Subjective concords + auxiliary verb followed by *na-* + substantive. A true verb stem *-kwete* (to hold) is an alternative:
Iyi-ŋkalamu ili netwãna (This lion has cubs).

Il. The conjunctive formative is *o*, and it is sometimes possible to omit it form the construction.
An auxiliary verb with subjective concords precedes it. In the negative, a true verb (*kw*)*ina* is used:

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[1] In Zulu however, this type of adverbial copulative is restricted in its subjective reference to subjects which are clauses or are themselves of adverbial origin. A subject consisting of a plain noun or pronoun cannot have this type of adverbial copulative as predicate. This is probably true for other Bantu languages also.

[2] A. R. Barlow, *Studies in Kikuyu Grammar and Idiom.*

Usunu ba li o cholwe (To-day they have good luck). *Ka ba ina shidyo* (They have no food).

Go. The conjunctive formative is *na*, but becomes the verb *–ina* when used predicatively. There is often a repetition of the *na* element – first as verb *–ina* and then as conjuntitive *na*:

Yali yena (< *ya* + *ìna*) *nawo* (He was with them). *Go wumi, wina* (< *u* + *ina*) *sawo nyinji* (O soul, thou hast much riches).

Ku. It is said to be formed with the "various forms of the verb 'to be' and *na*".

Mw. Either by using true verb *–kola* (perfect stem *–kwete*) or the usual verbal construction with *–li* and *na*–:

Ngwete mbiya or *Nili nambiya* (I have a shilling).

Sw. Subjectival concords prefixed directly to *na*: *Ana chakula* (He has food).

Ns. Subjectival concords are prefixed directly to *na* in the positive, but auxiliary verb *–li* is brought in in negative forms.

Mk. The usual verbal construction with *–ri* and *na*: *Kirina mtu* (I have a person).

Ny. The conjunctive formative appears as either *ndi–* or *na–*, while *ni–* is a dialectal variant of *ndi–*. Otherwise the construction is of the usual verbal type:

[*munthu aɾi ndiŋɔmbɛ*] (The person has a head of cattle).

Sh. Subjectival concords prefixed directly to *na*–: *Mɲana anezino* (The child has toothache; lit.: has a tooth).

He. Subjectival concords may be prefixed directly to [*na*], but auxiliary verb [*ɾi*] is sometimes brought in:

[*ɛʃɛ ɛnɛngɔmbɛ*] (He has cattle).

Mb. The conjunctive formative consists of [*l*] plus a vowel which disappears in the face of the initial vowel of the prefix. The following variety of examples obtained for "He has cattle" illustrate an unusual use for **–ikala* in a simple present tense form, as well as the normal

*–li, and also the verb *–kwete*, which has been noticed elsewhere:

(i) [*ɔɾi lɔlɔŋgɔmbɛ*]

(ii) [*ɔkwetɛ ɔlɔŋgɔmbɛ*]

(iii) [*ɔkasi lɔlɔŋgɔmbɛ*]

Lu. A true verb stem *–kweci* can be used, but the normal verbal method of formation is more common:

Kawa kana ali navana (This dog has pups).

Tg. The construction is reminiscent of Gogo in that there is a repetition of *na*, first as verb stem and then as the conjunctive formative:

Nyi na ni [1] *bandi* (I have brethren).

Xh. Direct prefixing of subjectival concords to *na*–: *Ndinesitya* (I have a dish).

Ss. The conjunctive formative is *le–*, but subjectival concords, infixes, etc., are not prefixed directly to *le–*, but to a presumed verb stem *–na*. *Le–* follows *–na*, being linked to the substantive in the normal way in the positive, but drops away in the negative. This stem *–na* shows both verbal and non-verbal characteristics. On the verbal side is the ability to take the inflectional elements typically associated with verbs in the present participial, positive, tense and in the relative construction, present tense, positive. (Infix *–e–* and suffix *–ng* in the examples given.)

Leha aena lekhômo (Although he has a head of cattle).

Motho ěanang lekhômo (A person who has a head of cattle).

On the non-verbal side is the change of *–na* > *–ba* in the future tense, infinitive, etc.; the inability to inflect for the perfect stem and negatives; and the use of *–se–*, a purely copulative infix, in relative construction.

Zu. Formation in exactiy the same way as Xhosa: *Nginesitsha* (I have a dish).

Conclusions

In these examples there is illustrated once again a desire for a verbal base for subjectival concords. The conjunctive formative *na–* seems to have

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[1] A process of substitution replaces the *–a* vowel with *–i*.

preserved its form in many languages, but it would appear that *ni*– is also a very ancient form. These two forms alternate in Masaba, and the *ndi*– of Nyanja can be derived from original *ni*– by comparison with the 1st person, singular, subjectival concord. (Note also that *ni*– still appears in dialect.) It is feasible that the *le*– [*li*] of Southern Sotho also derives from an original *ni*–, because Ndebele illustrates a recent *n* > *l* change in her formative *la*–.

The manner in which –*na* (–*ina*, etc.) is used as a verb stem in Ila, Gogo, (Gi)Tonga and Southern Sotho raises strong suspicions as to the original verbal character of this conjunctive formative. When we consider Kikuyu's auxiliary verb –*gĩa*, and its peculiar significance, our suspicions may be crystallized into the following suggestions.

In a very early form of Bantu, an original verb *–ɣina [1] denoting possession or "to be with" filled the need for what we term the conjunctive formative. At this stage the literal translation of "the man and the dog" would have been "the man is with the dog" or "the man has the dog". (Thus the Copulative of Association simply did not exist at this stage.) By a wearing down process associated with the most commonly used elements of language, the form subjectival concord + *–ɣina, followed by the substantive, became reduced to *na* (or *ni*) + substantive, and later even the fusion of these two elements into one word. But a few languages seem to have retained the memory of *–ɣina as a verb stem, while others have no knowledge of it other than in the form of its mummified offspring the conjunctive formative (*na*–, *ni*–, *le*–, *ya*–, *o*–, etc.)

The suggested reason for the present day pattern of the Copulative of Association in Gogo, (Gi)Tonga, Southern Sotho and even Kikuyu (–*na* as verb followed by *na*– as formative) is this. The verb *–ɣina (i.e. its descendant in the particular language) and its offspring, the conjunctive formative, exist together in these languages, but the relationship between them has been forgotten and also the original significance and true verbal character of *–ɣina. In other languages however,

the decay of *–ɣina into *na* or *ni* marked the extinction of the true verb. It is only when there is a need for a verb stem which can take the verbal concords in the Copulative of Association, that *–ɣina is remembered in Southern Sotho, (Gi)-Tonga, etc. and brought in to perform this essential function. Its old significance which embodies everything conveyed by the Copulative of Association is forgotten but its true verbal nature and its association with "possession" is remembered. And because its old verbal significance is forgotten, is precisely the reason why *na*– (or *ni*–), the conjunctive formative, must also appear in the construction and follow it, just as it does after a meaningless –*li* in other languages. Also, the decay which *–ɣina has experienced is the reason why it has usually hardened into a deficient verb stem, incapable of the usual inflections of the conjugation, (e.g. in Southern Sotho).

The line of thought which has been followed in reaching these conclusions, develops from a realization of how many of the "linking" words of language, which join up or subordinate words and clauses, link sentences, etc., derive from true living nouns and verbs – old autonomous words whose meanings were originally (and possibly still are) among the primary concepts of the language. Through use however, these "full" words become "empty" words, and their original meaning quite forgotten in their new function of linking and subordinating words and sense groups. Bantu provides innumerable examples of this process and, moreover, these link-pieces are still clearly recognizable as original nouns, verbs and adverbs; e.g. *ukuthi*, *ukuba*, *lapho*, *ngoba*, etc., in Zulu.

It is now necessary to explain the reason for the form of the conjunctive formative as either *na*– or *ni*– in old Bantu. The clue is supplied by (Kishi)-Kongo's formative *ya*. It is suggested that whereas the change was in the one instance *–ɣina > *ina* > *na*, in the other, the *i* vowel penetrated the stem in the manner suggested by Meinhof, and we have *–ɣina > *ina* > *nia* or *nya* > *ni* (or *ya*).

A perfunctory glance at languages which have dispensed with auxiliary verb *–li*, and are quite

[1] Two tendencies with regard to consonant *ɣ (the voiced velar fricative) explain present day forms.

Typically, it either disappears or becomes a plosive, thus giving –*ina* or –*gina* (> –*gĩa* ?).

happy to prefix verbal concords directly to conjunctive formative *na–*, may lead to the idea that here also *na* is a verb. This, for instance, would be the case in Zulu, but a deeper knowledge of *na–* and its use in the conjugation, where there is evidence of a defunct *–li* in certain changes in infixes in a copulative predicate which incorporates *na–*, shows quite clearly that *na–* is purely a conjunctive formative. It is only the tests of the participial mood and relative construction in Shona and Swahili, for instance, that indicate that *na*, in these languages, is only a conjunctive formative and not a verb stem.

It is interesting to view Fortune's article " 'To be' and 'to have' in Shona"[1] in the light of these suggestions. Certain puzzling features which Fortune has noticed, become clearer when we can derive *na*, both as verb stem and conjunctive formative, together with the *le–* formative of Southern Sotho, from an original verb *–yina* indicating possession; and, in addition, accept the fact that the typical form of the Copulative of Association in a number of languages has taken the shape of conjunctive verb followed by conjunctive formative plus substantive. In an understanding of the puzzling aspects of the construction, it is important that we are not confused by identity in form between [*li*] (*le–* in Southern Sotho) which is the conjunctive formative and descendant of original *–yina*, and *–li* (*–ri*, *–re*, etc.) which is the ordinary copulative auxiliary verb (U-B *–li*).

Our study of the Copulative of Association indicates how many languages, which see nothing verbal in the conjunctive formative, feel uneasy about attaching verbal concords to anything nonverbal in the copulative construction. In the simple present tense of the Copulative of Association many of them bring in the typical copulative auxiliary verb *–li* to take the concords, as they nearly all do in the locative copulative, and quite often with 1st and 2nd persons. But this *–li* is still the plain copulative auxiliary verb, and has no special affinity to the Copulative of Association. The frequent tendency of the conjunctive formative *na–* to fall away, brings even more confusion, because without *na–* the verb *–li* does, in fact, appear to be a conjunctive verb. Thus in Kikuyu the falling away of *na* after auxiliary verbs in the conjugation, caused Barlow to observe that "to have" and "to be" are often distinguishable from the context only. Note also in (Kishi)Kongo the conjunctive formative *ya* often falls away after auxiliary verbs in the conjugation: e.g., *Media mengi – bakedi mau* (Much food – they had it). But here *–kedi* is the perfect stem of the ordinary auxiliary verb *–kala*, and has no possible connection with a conjunctive formative – as it would appear to be in this sentence because *ya* has fallen away before *mau*. Fortune seems to visualize some sort of relationship between auxiliary verb *–li* and *na–*, but, it is suggested, the explanation given above shows that this is not the case. [a]

B

1. THE BASE OF THE COPULATIVE

Despite gaps in our information with regard to tone and its part in copulative formation, it is obvious that there is no consistent pattern for the base of the copulative predicate in the conjugation. From a comparative study, it becomes clear that

the majority of languages revert to the morphologically unaltered noun, pronoun, adjective, etc., when subjectival concords, infixes and possibly an auxiliary verb are there to indicate the temporary predicative nature of these parts of speech. In particular, the retention of *–ni* and its descendent forms with substantival copulative bases in the

[1] *African Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 2.
[a] After this article had been written, it was discovered that in Lozi the conjunctive formative is [*ni*] and the Copulative of Association almost identical in form to that of (Gi)Tonga, Gogo, etc., e.g. [*nina nikɔmu*] (I have a head of cattle). As this type of construction occurs in a number of widely separated languages, it can hardly be doubted that it is an ancient form, and it

seems highly probable that Lozi has preserved the construction in the form in which it occurred in the common ancestor which it shares with Southern Sotho. Certain deductions made in this paper thus receive confirmation, and without any hesitation we can place Southern Sotho with the other languages in which *na* (or *ni*) appears as both conjunctive formative and verb in the Copulative of Association.

conjugation is decidedly rare. Once again, the South-Eastern Bantu languages Zulu and Xhosa are exceptional, and they invariably use copulative bases which are themselves truly copulative in form. The same is true for Lamba, while in Swahili the use of *ni* in a substantival copulative base appears to be optional in many cases. Ila and Tonga stand half-way in that absolute pronominal copulative bases, appear in their inflected copulative forms, but not the other parts of speech. In the remainder of the languages under review, *ni-* disappears completely when the substantival copulative abandons the pure "substantive sentence" and takes part in the copulative conjugation.

This serves to show, of course, that it is mere convention that links *ni-* and the other structural and tonal changes with substantives functioning predicatively, and that these grammatical processes do not embody any ancient, intrinsic power of "predicating the substantive".

2. AUXILIARY VERBS

Most languages have at some stage in their development co-opted certain living verbs for use in the conjugation of their "substantive sentences". Bloomfield (*Language*, Chapter 24. 2) has illustrated how a number of Indo-European languages have adopted an ancient root meaning "to turn" for this purpose. The most important and universal need which these auxiliary verbs fulfil, is that for a verbal base which is inflectionable – the ordinary noun, adjective, etc., being incapable of the inflection of the verb. But there is yet another need for a verbal base in Bantu, and that is for something to take the subjectival concords and infixes, which are essentially verbal and cannot stand alone as, for instance, do personal pronouns in other languages. This second function is particularly associated with U-B *-li*.

Bantu has several common copulative auxiliary verbs and a number of uncommon ones occurring in a few languages only. Generally speaking, Bantu languages do not allocate their auxiliary verbs

according to the nature of the copulative base (e.g. *-gia* and its particular association with the Copulative of Association in Kikuyu) but according to the different moods and tenses of the conjugation; i.e. a particular auxiliary verb will be used with all copulative bases in a particular tense or mood. Wherever the "substantive sentence" bears any tense or mood significance other than that of the simple present indicative tense, we find that the subjectival concords of the verbal conjugation must be used, and accompanying them there is usually an auxiliary verb, fulfilling one of the two functions of these verbs which has been noted above. But we have already seen that even the simple present indicative tense is, in certain types of copulative construction, conveyed by using subjectival concords with or without an auxiliary verb (i.e. the verbal method). Excluding the simple impersonal copulative predicates formed from substantives, and also in some languages from adjectives and adverbs, the verbal method is the most common method of formation. Even in substantival copulatives with a simple present tense significance, it is commonly used when there is reference to 1st and 2nd persons.

The three common copulative auxiliary verbs are U-B *-li*, *-va* and *-ikala*. Regarding the last two of these verbs, either one or other occurs in a single language, but seldom both, and it shares with *-li* the functions of a copulative auxiliary verb. *-li* has been found in all the languages under review except in Zulu and Xhosa, and it has preserved its form in many languages, but is also found as:[1] [ɾe] (Kikuyu), [ɾɛ] (Mpongwe), [ɾi] (Nyanja, Shona, (Gi) Tonga, Makua), [ɾi] (Nyanja, Herero, Mbundu, Tonga). Its particular use lies in the indicative mood (although its occurrence in future tenses is not common) and its commonest appearance is in the Adverbial Copulative and in the Copulative of Association. It has a perfect form in Kuria (-*lingi*) and Mwera (-*liji*), the former using this "stative" form in the simple present tense. It also has a common association with relative clause construction (and therefore the participial mood) and it is only here that it has

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[1] Minor phonetical errors are possible here, due to the vague descriptions of speech sounds in some grammars.

The chances of error are greatest with regard to [*l*] and its common variants [*l*] and [*d*].

survived in Southern Sotho and also possibly in Swahili. *-va is very common, but *-ikala takes its place in Makua, Nyanja, (Gi)Tonga and probably Herero and Mbundu. Nsenga strangely enough has both verbs. We find *-va as: [pa] (Mpongwe), [ʝa] (Kikuyu), [bɛ] (Ngala), [βa] (Lamba, Shona, Mwera, Nsenga), [ba] (Ila, Southern Sotho, Tonga, Kuria), [wa] (Gogo, Swahili), [ɓa] (Zulu, Xhosa). *-ikala usually occurs in the form [kala]. It is possible that Luvale's auxiliary verb –pwa may have descended from *-va.

It should be noted that Bantu languages are far from uniform in allocating the same parts of the conjugation to the same auxiliary verbs. Mwera, for instance, uses –li in the present indicative tense, positive, and –wa in the corresponding negative tense. Generally speaking, the main uses of *-va are in the subjunctive, conditional and potential moods, future indicative tense, infinitive and imperative. In particular, it occurs wherever its conventional -a vowel is needed to undergo an inflection essential to the indication of the particular tense or mood. It has a perfect form in Kuria (–baye), Masaba (–beye) and Nsenga (–ŵile). *-ikala, occurring in (Kishi)Kongo, Nsenga, Makua, Nyanja, Herero, Mbundu and (Gi)Tonga, is used in much the same circumstances as *-va, but is found more frequently than *-va in ordinary indicative mood tenses. (See the Copulative of Association in Mbundu, where it actually appears to be a rival form to U-B *-li, and may be in the process of ousting the latter.)

Other copulative auxiliary verbs which have been noticed are: –duo (–duoana, –luoana) in Mpongwe, –twika, –uma (meaning "to come out") in Kikuyu, –baka and –kaba in Ngala, and –enzi in Nsenga.

That the three common auxiliary verbs were originally full verbs in their own right seems fairly clear. In fact *-ikala still has the fullest use as a verb meaning "to stay, sit", etc. There are strong indications regarding the original meaning of *-va in the "to become" significance with which it sometimes colours a copulative predicate. The

following observation by Sillery on Kuria [1] indicates a survival of the old autonomous use of *-va in that language, and clear proof of an original "coming into existence" significance. "A workman who has been building a hut will report when his work is finished 'Yabaye'." (i.e. "It has come into existence.") There is little evidence from which to derive the original significance of *-li, which from its form and function seems to be a perfect stem.

It happens in many languages that the original meaning of a copulative auxiliary verb re-emerges with at least some of its old force, when it is desired to colour the copulative with just that particular shade of meaning. This seems to have confused Bantu grammarians, particularly with regard to *-va and its "becoming" significance, but *-li is also sometimes indicated as lending a "stative" significance to copulative predicates. Sillery, re-marking on his difficulties in Kuria regarding the choice of –li or –ba, concludes by saying that "I think that –ba expresses 'come into being' ". This pre-occupation with the original significance of these verbs is a wrong approach however, for the reason that their true function is first and foremost as colourless verbal bases. That their original significance may sometimes re-emerge is un-doubtedly true, but this is incidental to their main function. The auxiliary verb *-li may well have been chosen because its own stative significance corresponded to the intrinsic stative import of the copulative, but it does nothing towards bringing a stative significance to a copulative predicate. Simi-larly *-va does not of necessity bring a significance of "becoming" into the copulative predicate, as for instance in Shona:

"Va in the i tense is also used to denote a con-tinuous or habitual state, e.g. 'He was poor' Wa-i-va murombo." [2] Nothing could be more clearly stative than this, but *-va which is dis-tinctly not stative, is the auxiliary verb used. Nevertheless the "becoming" significance of *-va obviously contributed to its choice for the future tense and conditional and subjunctive moods, where it is most commonly found, because the time reference in these tenses and moods lies largely in the future, before the "completed state" has been entered into; thus "becoming" must

[1] A. Sillery, "Notes for a Grammar of the Kuria Language", in *Bantu Studies*, Vol. X., No. 1, March, 1936.
[2] O'Neil's *A Shona Grammar*, 2nd edition, page 109.

inevitably precede the state of "being". In examining Bantu languages, we should rather note how and where the auxiliary verbs are used, and later observe instances where the original meaning of these verbs comes temporarily to the fore.

Some languages have developed *-va's "to become" significance to such a degree that it is possible to indicate a whole series of "inchoative" tenses corresponding to the naturally stative tenses. This is particularly true of Southern Sotho and also occurs in Zulu. The following is an example of a present participial tense as against a present participial inchoative tense. in Zulu :

> *Waphupha engumuntu omkhulu* (He dreamt that he was a great man).
> *Waphupha eɓa ngumuntu omkhulu* (He dreamt that he became a great man).

We have already mentioned languages where *-li* has disappeared or survives only in restricted parts of the conjugation. That *-li* has been entirely lost in the Nguni languages may be taken as a distinct feature of these languages, as there is justification for believing in its former presence, because of the changes caused by an invisible vowel *i* in certain infixes in the copulative conjugation. Although this influence may emanate from the old negative infix -si- (which Ndebele still retains in these forms) we cannot postulate this infix as causing the -sa- > -se- change in the infix of the progressive implication in positive predicates. We therefore assume this to be the influence of defunct *-li*. It would seem that *-li* starts to disappear once a language overcomes its uneasiness concerning the use of essentially verbal prefixes with non-verbal parts of speech in copulative predicates. When this happens, then the need for *-li* has gone, because it does not provide an inflectionable verbal base like auxiliary verbs *-va* and *-ikala*, which makes the latter verbs a far more permanent part of the copulative conjugation. This growing tendency for *-li* to fall away indicates quite clearly that it is purely and simply a verbal base, and not a *"copula"* verb in the Indo-European sense. In these constructions, it is the use of subjectival concords which is the important modification to the "substantive sentence", and

not the auxiliary verb. Examples given under A.2, A.3, and A.4 seem to indicate that this feature of the loss of auxiliary verb *-li*, is centred on two main areas – the North-Eastern and South-Eastern Zones. (Note that the manner of its use in present day Shona seems to indicate the probability of its disappearance in the future.)

3. CONCORDIAL REPRESENTATION OF SUBJECTS IN COPULATIVE PREDICATES

From the great principle of concord in Bantu come the most straightforward and basic rules in the language. As far as subjects and their predicative concords are concerned however, this rule is simple and straightforward as long as the subject is an identifiable person, animal or thing, and, bearing the hallmark of its class, there is no difficulty in choosing its concord in the predicate. With regard to the nature of subjects and their concords, however, there are several factors which make the choice of these concords not quite so straightforward, and give rise to major differences between one language and another. One of these is a construction found in Zulu which we may term the "emphasized predicate" construction – the predicate placed first in a sentence like *Ku-senga uɓaɓa* (Father is milking) is emphasized at the expense of the subject, and in this construction use is made of the indefinite concord *ku-*, instead of true class concords. In addition, subjects are not always clearly identifiable members of noun classes. They may occur as phrases or clauses of either substantival or adverbial origin; also several nouns collectively may function as subject ; while the subject of a sentence like *Kumakhaza manje* (It is cold now) is difficult to define exactly, and may be referred to as a "vague subject". It is important to realize that Bantu languages are by no means uniform in their choice of concords to represent such subjects. (These concords are referred to generally as "indefinite concords", including the *ku-* of the "emphasized predicate" construction of Zulu.)

In considering the indefinite concords, it is clear that verbal predicates as well as copulative predicates are concerned, and, in fact, they are probably better dealt with under the "verb" than under the "copulative". But the fact remains that Bantu grammarians have often ignored the nature and function of these indefinite concords and possibly not realized that languages differ as to their choice of concord to represent the extended subjects referred to above. Zulu, for example, uses *ku*– for all these subjects, while languages which have retained the locative classes will use concords of any of Classes 16, 17 and 18 for any phrase or clause with a tinge of adverbial significance. Also in Nyanja and Masaba, for instance, there are indications that use is made of Class 7 concords for "vague subjects" (and objects), and quite a different concord for a substantival clause as subject. Thus the student of Zulu may be surprised in finding a language which has more than one indefinite concord, depending on the nature of the extended subject which it represents.

A further reason makes an examination of these concords under the heading of "copulative" important. The rules governing the use of these concords is not always identical in copulative and verbal predicates. Thus in Zulu the "emphasized predicate" construction with indefinite concord *ku*– is generally avoided when the predicate is a copulative.[1] Thus we have: *Amnandi* (never *kumnandi*) *impela amaswidi lawa* (These sweets are really nice).

With regard to predicative concords, there is one type which is peculiar to the copulative predicate, viz. the "invariable concord". We find that some languages have a single invariable concord which is used in reference to every conceivable type and class of subject in a copulative predicate where the base is a substantive. It is important that we realize the significance of the fact that these invariable concords are only used in substantival (and not adjectival, adverbial, etc.) copulative predicates. Typically in Bantu the simple substantival copulative predicate is invariable and impersonal as far as reference to its subject is concerned, and this feature of impersonal reference is unique in a language family which makes such implicit demands regarding the recognition in morphological make-up of the dependence of predicate on subject, adjective on governing noun, etc. This feature of invariable concords in copulative predicates we regard, therefore, as a projection into the conjugation of the impersonal, invariable character of the simple impersonal substantival copulative.

Because Zulu uses *ku*– both as invariable and indefinite concord, many Zulu grammarians have missed this feature of the copulative conjugation. Moreover, the use of the invariable concord or the true class concord is optional in Zulu. Observe the following: *Yenza ukuɓa ingane yakho kuɓe* (or *iɓe*) *ingane ejaɓulile ephilile* (Make your baby a happy and healthy child). But note that when we replace the substantival copulative predicate with a verbal predicate, or a non-substantival copulative predicate, it is only possible to use the class concord: *Yenza ukuɓa ingane yakho iɓe yinkulu* (never *kuɓe yinkulu*) (Make your child a big child). *Yenza ukuɓa ingane yakho iphile* (Make your child healthy).

The classical example of the use of an invariable concord is Southern Sotho, which has the *e*– [*i*] concord for this purpose and there is no option of using the true class concord: e.g. *Morêna enê ele moruti* (The chief was a teacher). Cf. a verbal and adjectival copulative predicate: *Morêna oatsamaěa* (The chief walks). *Morêna omoholo* (The chief is great).

It is interesting that Xhosa also has invariable concord *i*–, but its use is not common, and it too may alternate with the true class concord: *Yenza okokuɓa umntwana wakho iɓe* (or *aɓe*) *ngumntwana ophilile* (Make your child a healthy child). Xhosa, like Zulu, has *ku*– as indefinite concord.

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[1] There are exceptions – notably the adverb *khona* as copulative.

THE ROLLING TARGET (HOOP-AND-POLE) GAME IN AFRICA

Egyptian Accession Rite or Multiple Ritual Symbolism

O. F. RAUM

PART II

THE R.T.G. IN ACCESSION RITES

The evidence

In the previous section we reviewed the evidence of the identification of the r.t.g. with animals of the chase. We found that there is a connexion between the r.t.g. and the anticipatory destruction of the image of game on the one hand and magical stabbing practice on the other. But there are further ritual associations of the game. In many initiation camps, for instance, a race is an important feature. In the Kikuyu rite it is, according to Kenyatta, the winner of this race who performs the shooting rite. In the Pedi initiation as customary among the Ba-Kone, a race takes place at the opening ceremony of the second part (*boxwera*). After a bath, the novices put on their camp kilts and are thrashed while they run the race. The race is started at the rising of the sun in such a manner, that the runners pursue a man who bears the so-called rod of honour. The winner must snatch this rod from him. In olden days the winner received many favours from the chief. He became one of the royal messengers and not infrequently married one of his daughters! Thus we have in the Pedi initiation an exact repetition of the three features of the Zulu contest as retained in the Bahu-Mfisi myth: stabbing rite, race, and the winner in both marries the chief's daughter.

This remarkable parallelism may be explicable by considering both as particular instances of the universally known contests for the hand of a king's daughter. These parallels would thus fall under the customs which Sir James Frazer (1929, ch. XIV) explains on kinship lines. Since in primitive nations, he says, kinship is based on exogamy, matrilocal marriage and matriliny, succession had to go to strangers and was therefore often determined by contests, including frequently races. The victorious competitor gained the kingdom with the hand of the princess. In this manner was it ensured, that the general rule set up by Hocart, (p. 63), was observed: "A man may not become king without a queen and a queen must be of royal blood."

The investigation which this suggestion enjoins on us is to examine the r.t.g. for evidence which would make it likely that it was once upon a time a rite accompanying a political event, that it was part of the ritual regulating succession. The evidence available is admittedly meagre. But there are some pointers to show, that the r.t.g. had in some tribes associations with changes in the reign of rulers. Thus the Shona play the game on so-called *chisi* days which commemorate the death of a chief. The reference to past genealogical events is not merely historical, since in this instance it ensures the periodic repetition of the game. Such periodic repetition is a characteristic of the magical potency of rites.[1]

[1] Cf. Durkheim, E., pp. 9–11. Durkheim's theory that the concept of time is determined by the qualitative experience of the sacred rather than by the quantitative experience of sequence and duration is elaborated by Hubert and Mauss (ii). Sometimes, however, the rhythm of collective and ritual activities is subject to practical considerations. At the Kilimanjaro the r.t.g. is played in the rainy season, when the initiation camp used to be held and stories told (Chaga). In neighbouring Arusha the game is played in the dry season, because only then can the boys gather in teams; in the rainy season they are scattered with their herds over the plains.

Among the Arusha the victorious team – the first to reach 100 points – hangs the hoop in a tree called *ol oiyaviyab* and rails at the loosers: "You have eaten the greens from this tree", a remark probably associated with the Masai custom, that only women, children and inferior persons, never warriors, eat vegetable food (Merker, 1941, 372). Ritual significance may also be ascribed to the fact that occasionally the defeated players are "enslaved". If a boy fails in the rather difficult demands of the Kamba game, he becomes the slave of his opponents and the game goes on until as many as possible of one team have become slaves. In the Toro r.t.g. the thrower of the hoop has to join the fielding team when it has been brought to a stop. Similarly among the Ngala should team *A* hit the disc with three darts, three players of team *B* become the slaves of team *A*, i.e. they stand out of the game. If, when the disc is returned, team *B* succeeds in lodging four darts in it, they redeem their enslaved team mates and capture one player of the opposing team. The custom of the Jukun to give the victors the right to mount the backs of the defeated players is also an index of the possible connexion of the r.t.g. with magical accession rites.[1]

In a few instances beating of the teams during the r.t.g. occurs. Thus the Thonga teams rush upon each other at the end of a bout and exchange a sound cudgelling after which, without any ill-feeling, they go to bathe in the nearest pool. The Zulu players beat the unsuccessful competitor "till the sun sets". The Swazi game may turn into a fight. Although not too much weight should be attached to this fact, it should be noted that cudgelling of the heir is part of many accession rites (Wilson 1930, 23; Ngonde, Westermann, 40 : Liberia, Sierra Leone, Yoruba, Kpelle, Okwawu, Gabun, Lambya).

There are also indications that missile and target are identical with symbols of authority. In one or two tribes (Elgeyo, Lovedu) the missile is a forked javelin, which is generally considered to be a sign of authority (Lindblom (ii)). The basket-shaped target used by the Venda is, at least, in other tribes

a royal symbol. Chopi, Lenge and Thonga use a target of woven grass, whereas the neighbouring Ndebele keep a round mouthless basket as the royal orb. Round its possession the struggles for supremacy between branches of the ruling family centred, and there exists a myth in which the basket rolled away from an unworthy occupier of the throne (Fourie, 1923). The royal symbol of the Zulu is a hoop. Whatever importance we wish to attach to these stray references, they do strengthen our determination to examine the possibility, that the r.t.g. is a survival in the play life of the children of an accession rite.

African accession rites

Without claiming to have gathered all the available data, we offer the following facts as instances supporting our hypothesis. The ritual hunt forms part of many accession ceremonies. In it the heir apparent magically predetermines his success as ruler by a successful achievement in the chase. The Kaonde, living on the Congo-Zambezi divide, do not appoint a successor immediately after the death of a chief. A regent rules during the interregnum. Before his accession the heir undergoes a hunting test. He goes out alone. If he kills a female animal, he shows his fitness for the throne. If he kills a male animal, he forfeits his claim, as such an act is considered equivalent to an admission that he killed his predecessor by witchcraft or slept with his wife. A similar custom obtains among the Lunda tribes of Angola where, however, a party of gunbearing hunters vicariously hunts on behalf of the heir. The same criterion as among the Kaonde, the killing of a female animal, qualifies the heir for the throne, except that the killing of a female hartebeest, warthog or zebra must be avoided (Melland 1923, 97, 102). A hunting test similar to that reported of the Kaonde is performed during the accession rites of the Ganda king. At the end of the mourning period for the deceased king, and when his successor intends to take up his new residence, he beats a drum to make the fact known. Presently a gazelle

[1] A famous drawing in Pogge's description of his visit to the court of the Lunda shows a Kilolo (nobleman) riding on the shoulders of his slave. Cf. Westermann, 385. – The "enslaving" of persons who fail to guess riddles is well known in Africa; cf. Ittmann, in *Z. f. Eg.* vol., 21, of Kosi in the Cameroons, and Raum, *O. F.*, (i) 220.

is brought to his temporary abode by the head of the Grasshopper clan. The king himself chases and kills the animal. A new feature appears in the Ganda ritual. Shortly after his accession the king ceremoniously speared a man of royal rank "to invigorate himself". Three years afterwards the son of a dignitary was killed to extend the king's life and a few days later another youth (Roscoe, 1911, 209 ff.). Here the moving target rite appears to form part of the accession ceremonies of a divine king and the moving target is not only represented by an animal of the chase but even by a human being.

(The employment of human beings as moving targets – whether for practice or magical purposes – is known elsewhere. Shepstone reported an incident in the forties of the last century, where a Xhosa girl was attacked by "wolves" and so badly lacerated that hope was given up to cure her. She was given the choice of two deaths: to go into the wilds or to allow herself to be used as target by the boys of the neighbouring kraals plying their sharp sticks of about 5 feet length at her! (J. W. Shepstone). Such a situation might be repeated in children's games as, for instance, reported of the Ba-Ila. When the children play kulea miumba, the players are supposed to be fish which dodge the fish spears aimed at them, while they sing "To escape the spears; that's the work which brings us!" (Smith & Dale 1920, II, 237, 248; Schmidt 1923-4, 731, describes a parallel of a Papuan people.) The Red Indian boy who recovered his lost arrows by offering himself as target in the r.t.g. is another case in point, as are the instances where human targets were used and killed in the ritual performance of the "game".)

The spearing of a human being in accession rites is not a rare phenomenon. While among the Umundri (Jeffreys, 1935) the information avilable indicates that the slave to be killed in the accession rites was in recent times replaced by a cow, it is not reported that the new king himself had to pursue and spear the human target. Among the Glidyi Ewe (Togoland) (Jeffreys, 1935, 349) the new king is not allowed to enter the grave hut of the famous warrior ancestor of the tribe unless he has killed an enemy (or one of his warriors) and is

in a position to deposit the victim's skull in the hut. In Niumu, Gambia, the new king, after a probationary period in a temporary abode, has to chase a slave from a baobab tree to a hut with two doors. The rite commemorates the escape of a royal ancestor, which implies that the fleeing slave represents this forbear, while the new king acts the role of his pursuer. In consequence, the anticipatory value of the rite is shifted. It is essential, not that the new king should succeed in cutting down the slave, but that he should not stumble in the pursuit (Macklin, 1935, 218). Among the Fali of Wumba (N. Nigeria) there was the custom that two years after the accession an enemy had to be killed whose head was carried before the king before being deposited in the "charnel house" (Meek, I, 302). The Jukun gave their new king a new name in a rite performed in the "king's house". In this rite the king had to kill a slave with a spear or wound him so that he could be dispatched by others. (Meek, A., 140). In the Bamun coronation rites the throwing of pith laths at the king by the populace was a feature in the mock battle staged between the Njikumjua, a dignitary of the crown, and the king (Jeffreys, 1950, 41–2). If a dispute about the kinship arose, it was this dignitary who ran a race with the king to reach a sacred stone. The Konde (Ngonde), whose ageing king is dispatched by ritual murder, choose his successor by divination. A hereditary councillor suddenly throws the "rod of lordship" at the selected man, whereupon the assembled chiefs and warriors salute him "He is our food and shield!" (Mackenzie, 1925, 72.) In these last instances the heir to the throne himself appeared to be the human target in accession rites, a reminder that often the disputes of succession were decided by a life and death contest between the aspirants and that the tradition of some tribes asserts that every man of royal blood who succeeds in slaying the king, can take his place.

The killing of a human being may have ritual value because of its emotional concomitants. It may also have been a symbolical act of subjecting the commoners or inhabitants of conquered territories. Such a meaning seems to underlie "the shooting of the nations" rites which are known in almost all the

Hima states, where a Hamitic aristocracy holds ascendancy over a Bantu peasant stratum and sometimes a Pygmy hunting population in addition. The rite is found either in the extreme form of a mortal combat or as a sham fight between the rivals. This may be annually repeated (Westermann, 1952, 329). The closest analogy to the r.t.g. is found in the accession rites of the Kitara (Nyoro). The successor to the throne, after having overcome his rivals in battle, performs the "shooting of the nations". This he does with the royal bow which is strung afresh at each coronation with human sinews obtained from a living victim. The king shoots four arrows towards the four quarters or the globe. In doing so, he calls out the names of the tribes living in these directions and says: "I shoot the nations to overcome them." The arrows are searched for and placed in the royal quiver for the shooting of the nations rite of the following year (Roscoe, 1923). A similar rite is reported of the Yoruba, where the king shoots the arrows towards three of the cardinal points (Johnson,1921, 192). Among the Umundri (Ibo, S. Nigeria) four arrows were shot into the four directions at the burial of a warrior (Jeffreys, 1935, 349, 374). And Schweinfurth reports that the Mittoo and Madi, neighbours of the Bongo, whose r.t.g. we noted, shoot arrows at poles erected on the graves of warriors. Such customs might be linked with those in which arrows are discharged at ant heaps, the symbols of ancestors, during initiation (Schweinfurth, 1878, I, 129, 143). Among some of the Ewe tribes the rite exists in an attenuated form. "The newly elected king is carried about in his royal palanquin, holding his ceremonial sword in his hand and pointing it to the four quarters of the globe, thereby expressing the desire, that other tribes may also come to serve him."

Accession rites of the ancient world

The most striking royal shooting ceremony is, of course, the *sed* festival of Ancient Egypt. The meaning of the *sed* has been interpreted in various ways. Long ago it was thought that the festival was connected with the reign of kings. But Mahler persuaded his contemporaries, and among them Flinders Petrie, to believe that the *sed-heb* was celebrated with reference to an astronomical phenomenon, the rising of Sirius (Sothius). To-day many Egyptologists again favour the original assumption, that the *sed* is a rejuvenation rite performed to invigorate the divine king and the reproductive forces of his realm which depend on his vigour and virility.[1] Consequently the festival is supposed to have become more frequent with the increasing age of the pharaoh. This can be proved with certainty for the reigns of Rameses II and Amenhotep III. (The periodicity of royal rejuvenation rites and the ritual limitation of a ruler's reign have also been noted in a number of African tribes: Yoruba, Southern Rhodesia, Lovedu, Bambara, Fipa. Cf. Westermann, 1952, 35–7, 355.)

Unfortunately the details of the *sed* are not at all well known, certain features, however, are believed to have recurred constantly. The king's festal garments were those peculiar to Osiris; the so-called *ded*-pole was erected on a mound by the king himself at dawn; firebrands were lighted and passed from priest to priest; a race for the hand of the princess, the daughter of the pharaoh, was run; and finally·the shooting at the cardinal points took place. We thus find a significant repetition of some of the features of the Zulu myth of Bahu, who won the hand of a king's daughter through being victorious in a race and in the stabbing of the tuber.

The most authentic pictorial representation of the *sed* or rejuvenation rite is from Dynasty XXV on a building at the south wall of the temple at Amen. The picture shows the procession of the standards, the four gods of the four quarters are borne aloft by priests and priestesses; Taharqua, the pharaoh, appears as the hereditary chief of the kingdom and is seen throwing "quoits" at the four

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[1] W. Schilde finds it necessary to differentiate between the Divine King, whose self-destruction is enforced as soon as his physical strength fails, and the chief whose well-being is magically associated with the welfare of his tribe. Seligman, C. G., (1934) takes over Schilde's distinction but fails to make clear, that the Divine King belongs to the Hamitic culture complex and the priest-king to that of the African agriculturalists. Irstam rejects Seligman's early Hamitic theory and asserts that sacred kingship came to Africa from the Near East via Abyssinia. This view is challenged by Carlo Conti Rossini. Cf. also Lagercrantz.

quarters of the earth, while his queen is depicted shooting arrows at three discs explained as town symbols, on each of which the four cardinal points are marked off as segments. She has succeeded in lodging an arrow in the rims of two of the targets and is in the act of taking aim at the third. In other pictures, the reproduction of which I have not seen, the pharaoh is shown shooting at the discs himself. According to Hocart an inscription in a little temple near the sanctuary of Medinet Habu explains that the arrows are shot "against his enemies which the god has delivered to him". (Cf. Petrie V. M. Flinders; Weigand, A.; Prisse, d'Avennes; Lepsius, K. R.; Moret, A. 1902, 1926 and 1927.; Naville, E., Seligmann, C. G., 1934.)

Hocart (1941, 47), although under the impression that the *sed* festival is not found in coronation rites of other countries, yet reminds us that the king of the Indian tribe of Kurus held a festival every three years at which, assuming the robes of a god, he stood in the presence of the demon Citraraja and shot an arrow towards each of the four quarters. But the rite was certainly more widely known. Thus in the sacred epic of ancient India, the Mahabarata, Book II describes the Swayamvara custom, "the bride's choice". It repeats features of the Egyptian *sed* and the Bahu-Mfisi contests of the Zulu. The royal guests and princely suitors throng the richly festooned plain, where the contest for the hand of Draupadi, the princess of Panchala, takes place. After the drums have been beaten and the *sankha* sounded, Drupad's son, the brother of the princess, proclaims: "Mark this bow and the target hung on high, through yonder whirling discus, let five glist'ning arrows fly!" (According to J. Murphy, p. 25 a tall pole had been erected, at the top of which a golden fish was fixed and below it a wheel, which was kept turning round. The competitors' task was to shoot through the turning wheel and strike the eye of the fish.) Only royal competitors are allowed to take part in the contest and the gods in cloud-borne chariots view the scene from above. All the princes fail to bend the bow provided, until Arjun, the son of Indra and Pritha, steps forth in the disguise of a Brahman. A hush falls on the spectators as Arjun

walks three times round the wondrous bow which the warriors had tried to bend in vain. Godlike Arjun, filled with Vishnu's matchless might, shoots the shining and hissing arrows through the disc and brings the distant target thundering to the ground. The beauteous Draupadi, who has watched the contest, now ornaments the brave archer with bridal garland and bridal robe. In Book III it is mentioned that although Arjun had won Draupadi, she is eventually married to him and his four brothers and it is Yudhishthir, the eldest, who assumes the title of king of all kings of India after the bow contest (Dutt 1909). (In the Ramayana, the other great Indian epic of ancient times, Sita is offered by her adoptive father Janaka to any suitor who can bend the giant bow which Janaka had received from Siva. Rama succeeds in this contest after many others have failed. There is no shooting rite.)

Even in the legend of Buddha's life the shooting motif occurs. At the great shooting contest targets are set up at differing distances. Bodshivatta has the longest distance: at the distance of ten "earshots" an iron drum is set up, behind which there are seven palm trees and behind them linked by a contraption, the image of a boar. Bodshivatta breaks all the ordinary bows, while his opponents do not even succeed in reaching their targets. Finally a special bow is brought from the temple, Bodshivatta easily puts the sinew on, pierces the four drums of his opponents, then his own and the image of the boar as well. The arrow is in fact shot with such force, that it strikes the ground burrowing itself so deeply that it cannot be seen anymore (Waldschmidt, 1929, 63). The Buddha legend coincides with the Zulu r.t.g. myth even to the extent, that the result of the contest is the same. After his victory the young Buddha meets the girl Gopato to whom he becomes betrothed. This happens at the re-erection of the fallen down giant tree or pole.

Accession rites analogous to incidents in the r.t.g. myth of the Zulu, thus provide the heir to the throne with first a queen, secondly with the gift to rule royally, and thirdly with power over his subjects and ascendancy over neighbouring or

hostile nations. It is possible to pursue examples of the last kind throughout history up to documented times. When Alexander the Great arrived at the Hellespont, he is said to have performed a rite of spearing the sea. Of Attila we are told by Gibbon (1853, ch. 35, 7), that once in his youth he was sitting dreamily in the tent of his uncle Rugila, considering whether he should become a Christian and devote himself to the service of God and the sciences (*sic*), when suddenly a cat entered. Rummaging through Rugila's treasures it discovered a golden orb – the rolling target representing the earth – and began rolling it about on the floor. Then a voice within Attila began to speak: "Thou shalt not become a monk; you are to play with the terrestrial globe like unto this cat!" And recognizing in the voice Kutka, the god of the Huns, Attila seized his sword, swung it towards the cardinal points and became Attila, King of the Huns and the scourge of God for Western Europe. (V. von Scheffel, ch. 13). Five centuries later, a similar rite was employed by Otto the Great, ruler of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation, who claiming possession of the Baltic Sea threw his spear into the Sound. Another five centuries later the rite was still remembered, for Balboa, after crossing the Isthmus of Central America, entered the water of the Pacific Ocean in full armour, and dividing the waters in all directions with his sword, claimed the ocean for His Hispanic Majesty. Four hundred years later, Chaka, the Zulu king, ordered one of his regiments to march into the violently breaking surf of the Indian Ocean in order to establish his dominion over the sea by stabbing the foamy billows with their assegais.

Throughout the history of mankind the rite of establishing a king's suzeranity through stabbing or piercing a symbol of his domain with a weapon seems therefore to have existed. It appears like an echo of such a shooting rite, when Culin (1907, 430–35, 500–4) reports the custom among the North American Indian tribes of interpreting the hoop used in the r.t.g. as an encampment whose openings appear in four marks on its rim. On this hoop the members of the chief's family learned to locate the tribes of the neighbourhood!

THE R.T.G. IN WEATHER MAGIC

Stabbing the sky in rain-making

In previous sections the ritual employment of the moving target in anticipatory hunting magic, in charismatic training for the chase and in accession rites has been propounded. We would expect that a rite, which may be used in so many different situations, might be transferred to the occupation of the agriculturalist as well. Several considerations support this extension of the quest. First, the identification of the disc or ball with the earth, which occurred in the "shooting of the nations" rite, can probably not remain restricted to the territorial aspect. The earth has also a vegetative aspect as the site where plant growth occurs. To influence such growth magically is one of the prime concerns of primitive farming. Rain magic is even of importance to the hunter, since pastures are destroyed by drought and resulting grass fires cause the migration of game. Rain, by restoring the grass cover, attracts game back. The divine king culture complex too, which is so closely connected with the r.t.g., by linking the ruler's welfare with the fertility of the soil would make a transfer of the magical notions connected with stabbing and shooting rites to agricultural pursuits a likelihood. In fact, Frazer collected evidence to show that many games have magical significance in primitive agriculture. Every important operation in the fields is accompanied by a period of seclusion and of abstention from work during which such games as swinging, tug-of-war, cat's cradles, sham fights, wrestling, competitions in leaping and running are performed for the good of the crops. One of the games reported by him among the Nagas is the throwing of pointed bamboo sticks at an effigy. The hits are prognostic or of divinatory value, for a hit in the forehead foretells success in war and a hit in the belly appropriately promises plenty of food. This general principle is confirmed in the particular case of the South African Hlubi r.t.g. Here boys got the order from the chief to play the game in a drought or in, or before, the ploughing season. There is thus evidence enough for examining the connexion between r.t.g. and agricultural

fertility magic (Frazer, J., *The Golden Bough*, 1925, VIII, vol. I, p. 92 ff.).

The rock paintings in the Fezzan examined previously show a third motif to recur beside the two already mentioned. This third motifls represented by circular ornaments between the horns of domestic animals, chiefly bulls and rams. Two interpretations spreading to the Sahara Atlas can be traced to pre-dynastic pottery in Egypt, are possible. The first was already mentioned by Schweinfurth, when he linked the spheroid with the disc between the horns of the ram of Jupiter Ammon in the Siwa Oasis. Its associations with the sun symbol between the horns of the sacred Mnevis bull and Hathor cow in Egypt seems obvious. In the XVIIIth Dynasty the motif became elaborated. The spheroid is now a representation of the earth, whole land-scapes with trees, rivers and fish being carried between the horns of the animals (Frobenius, pp. 118–22, 135–41). The Egyptian theory is kept alive by Jeffreys when he analyses the winged solar disc pattern in Ibo scarifications. He maintains that the pattern may represent the sun or moon, and that it is reminiscent of the solar disc, the symbol of the Egyptian warrior god, Horus of Edfu. This symbol became a royal emblem of the Meroitic kingdom and was adopted by the Hittites (Jeffreys, 1951).

The second explanation considers the spheroid in the Fezzan pictures not as royal or divine emblems but as depicting a rain rite. Abbé Breuil drew the author's attention to this possibility by referring to "analogous spring time sacrifices among certain Nigerian tribes. In these rites the victim's head is covered with a calabash decorated with leather streamers". (Abbé Breuil in letter to author: 8.4.1943; cf. also Jolleaud. The rain rites of the Lango, whose r.t.g. we noted, might also be quoted. In them water is poured on the heads of the consecrated animals Driberg 1923, 253). Such an interpretation is feasible as long as the spheroid is thought to represent the earth. This is obviously the case, when its picture is supplied with hills, rivers and trees. But it may with equal justification be considered as representing the sky. This interpretation is favoured by Germain who in a recent article stresses two facts: (i) that the ram

with aureole or disc between the horns was known in North Africa before "historical" times, i.e., before Egyptian culture traits could have been diffused there; (ii) that the actual rain making rite of the prehistoric peoples is not yet known. Since the Abbé Breuil had to draw upon an analogy from primitive tribes of to-day, we may be permitted to offer an emended hypothesis.

The rain making rite of the prehistoric peoples may well have been a shooting or stabbing rite. The spheroid or calabash resting between the horns of the victim is likely to have been filled with water. The horns may have been used to pierce the symbol of the rainladen sky. The streamers, where they occur, may have represented the flowing rain. This hypothesis, like that about the shooting rites of the hunter, has the advantage of collating scenes depicted on prehistoric pictures with practices of primitives of to-day. Among the Kamba, for instance, whose r.t.g. we noted, pointing of a horn at the cloudless sky is believed to produce rain (Lindblom, 1920, 287). Similar weather pointing or stabbing rites exist among the Zulu, the Chaga and Lango, all of whom are addicted to the r.t.g. In fact the Zulu language retains in two names for cattle linguistic evidence for the existence of such a rite, viz., young bullocks with horns still erect are called *i(li)hlaɓazulu* [< *hlaɓa* + *i(li)zulu*, lit., what stabs the sky] and *i(li)hlaɓamvula* [*hlaɓa* + *imvula*, lit., what pierces the rain]. It is true that during a thunderstorm the Zulu weather maker (commonly called heaven heard) shakes his weapons at the sky to drive the clouds and lightning away. But this inversion of the rite, having the appearance of a fight against the sky forces, is intelligible if the violence or Zululand storms is considered. In agreement with the character ascribed to the divine king, the Ngcobo chief, for instance, benefits the crops (by ensuring sufficient rain) through stabbing movements at the rising sun during three annual agricultural ceremonies, viz. at the weeding, the *ukweshwama* and the first fruit rite. Having taken strengthening medicine and dressed and painted his body, the chief rushes from his hut into the centre of the cattle kraal. From there he squirts the medicines at the sun – and sometimes in the
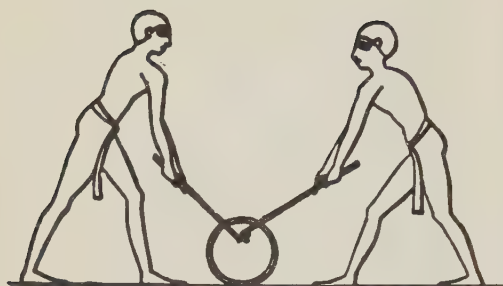
EGYPTIAN HOOP GAME.
After Wilkinson.

ROCK ENGRAVING.
In Habeter III, Fezzan.
After Leo Frobenius.

ROCK ENGRAVING.
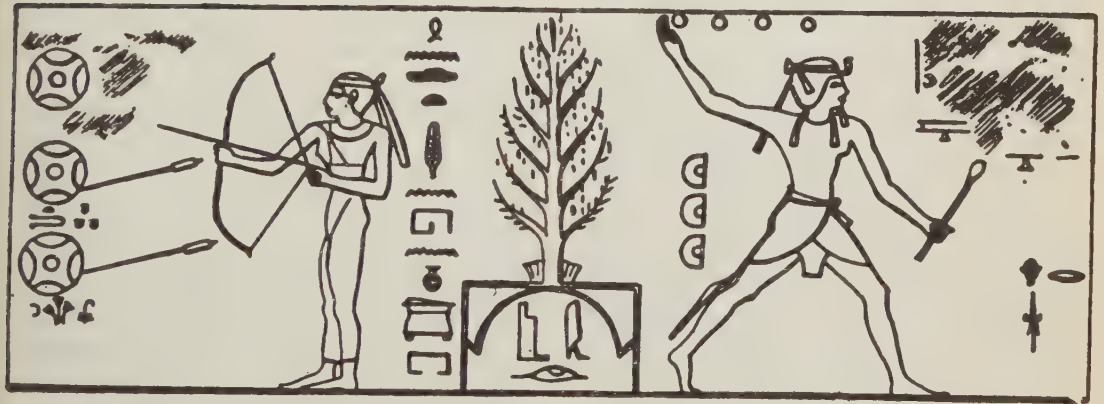In Habeter II, Fezzan.
After Leo Frobenius.

ROCK ENGRAVING.
In Habeter III.
After Leo Frobenius.

ROCK ENGRAVING.
In Wadi Telissarhe, Fezzan. After Heinrich Barth.

"SHOOTING THE NATIONS" at Egyptian *sed* festival from the temple at Amen. After C. G. Seligmann.

HOPI SHOOTING RITE
(Morning Star - Kneeling - and Stags with red rags tied to antlers.)
After photo of Heye Foundation, New York.

opposite direction – and uttering a shooting sound points the spear at him. The warriors burst out into a shout: "The bull with the red tail has gored it." The first interpretation of this phrase given by the Natives was that the "it" referred to a bull fight in which the chief as the victorious red bull vanquishes his opponent. On having his attention drawn to the incongruity of this explanation, Mr. Lugg confirmed the author's surmise that he had been incorrectly informed regarding the "it" being another bull. The phrase, "Yayi hlabeli shoba eli bomvu" should be rendered: "The bull (chief) has stabbed him (the sun)."[1]

The Chaga rain maker reminds people who invite him to a beer drink that it is owing to his efforts that they have been able to brew at all. For if he had refused himself, nothing would have grown to make beer with. He, the rain maker "tears the heavens apart", so that it may rain. (Note that in Chaga the word for sky, sun and god is the same: *iruva*; Gutmann, 1909, 180.) The Lango rain makers form a powerful guild. They are classed into four groups, named after certain animals and carefully initiated. The rain spear, of which there are three kinds, is made by smiths, belonging to a special clan, free of cost, as any payment would destroy their efficacy. To be effective it has to be ritually washed and then consecrated in the annual rain-making ceremony. At one time the spears had to be pointed towards the sky to produce rain. This was replaced recently by the custom of thrusting the spear into the ground, outside the rain-maker's house. When it is removed from this position after the harvest, the rain stops. Spears are also used in pointing positions to ensure success in hunting, to protect huts against lightning and to check locust invasions – when the spear is stuck into the ground beside a pot in which a locust is kept. (Driberg 1923, 57–8, 112–20, 243–63.) A sacred spear plays a role in the rain-making rites of other peoples, e.g., the Dinka (Seligman), and the Rundi (Meyer). Among the Pende (West-Pongo) a myth is told according to which the people had to make war on Nanesse; an ogre, who withheld rain. They killed him and made a hole in the sky, so that it could rain.

It must be assumed that the ritual stabbing, shooting or piercing of the sky or its symbolic representation is performed by functionaries who are duly initiated and ritually pure. This is the case with the Zulu weather-maker and chief, the Lango rain-maker and leader of the hunt, and the Chaga rain-maker. Consequently the action of pointing at the sky is taboo to commoners and the ritually impure. The Chaga herdsboy accordingly is admonished not to throw the small fruit of the solanum, which serves him as missile and toy in many games, towards the sky. The Zulu child is warned not to point at the pumpkins in the field, lest they whither (Samuelson, 1912, 159, 168). The pumpkins apparently are the symbols of the growing powers of the earth, its vegetative and reproductive forces. Thus when they are used (in the r.t.g.) as ritual targets, they not only represent the territorial aspect of the earth but its vital power as well. This is well illustrated in the myth of the swallowing monster as told among the Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho (Werner, A., 1933, 182, 216, 334). The swallowing ogre catches a girl and puts her in a drum. She is set free and the monster is killed. From his remains a pumpkin plant sprouts which bears extraordinarily large fruit. The boys (obviously playing the tabooed stabbing rite) slash them with their "swords". The largest pumpkin becomes alive – the r.t.g. in reverse, probably to punish the taboo breakers – and pursues them. It is held up by the men of the village, who, legitimately, cut it to pieces, burn it and scatter its ashes. The pumpkin is identified with the swallowing monster itself in the Shambala, Iramba (and Chaga) versions of this myth. In the former the last survivor of mankind kills with his tenth and last arrow the monster – grown out of the ashes of a porcupine burnt for its sins. In the latter the missiles used are porcupine quills and the pumpkin, slain at last, has to be cut open from behind to release the swallowed men and beasts.[2]

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[1] Lugg, (1923) and letter to author 24/6/43. The stabbing of the sun rite is also carried out in sickness. It is then said "to absorb some of his strength". Note the parallel from Central America; the name of Montezuma, fifth Mexican king, was "He who shoots at the Heavens" (Ilcuihamina). It was shown hierographically in the codices by an arrow piercing the symbol of the heavens.

[2] A plausible interpretation of the swallowing monster

Myths of sky battles

The connexion between stabbing for rain rites with the r.t.g. finds further support in some other myths. As the Dobuan children are said to have used the Pleiades as their target, so the Chaga boys at one time shot their arrows at the stars. At that time the sky was still close to the earth. To make this reprehensible action impossible, the sky was lifted high above the earth. The resemblance of this myth with the cosmogonic ideas of other peoples is patent. The Egyptians believed that at the beginning the goddess of the sky (Nut) lay in an intimate embrace with the god of the earth (Gêb) until the god Show (Shu = empty space or sun) lifted the sky up. The underlying notion that the fertilizing rain fructifies the waiting earth is here dimmed by making the sky divinity female.[1]

The Kwakiutl myth of the origin of the r.t.g. says, according to Boas (Culin, 1907, 521), that the game was first played "by the woodpecker and other myth birds on the one side and the thunder bird and the birds of the upper world on the other side". Four gambling-stones are thrown between the ranks of the contesting birds and they spear them with their beaks. A similar aetiological myth for the African r.t.g. has not been seen by the author. But references to similar contests abound. Among many peoples the sky is considered to be raised above the earth by pillars or posts. The Tumbuka-Kamanga people relate that certain birds, which Cullen Young (1931, 125) identifies as woodpeckers, settle on the posts and peck at the sun, thus causing the collapse of the dome of the sky. The ensuing darkness brings everything to an end, an African version of doomsday. The myth may, of course, be linked with the saying in the Hima states at the death of a divine king, that the heaven has collapsed. A Herero myth speaks of guardians (*ovakuru*, little old folk) who are appointed to keep human beings from climbing into the sky and to prevent birds from settling on the

posts. Yet every evening the guardians wage a battle with the sun in which they stab this luminary so that he turns red with the gushing blood (Irle, 1906, 76): Here the stabbing results in bringing about night, the temporary extinction of the sun's light.[2]

The third type of myth referring to a battle in which celestial bodies are involved, and which has features in common with the r.t.g., refers to the eclipse of the sun or moon. The Lamba version may be quoted (Doke, 1931, 244). Sun and moon are striving over the kingdom. The moon hurls his darts at the sun, and they are seen sticking in him (as also shown in the Fezzan engravings). Then the sun retaliates and throws mud at the moon, the dark patches being clearly visible on her yet. This is reminiscent of the Egyptian myth of the struggle between Horus, the god of two eyes, i.e., sun and moon, and Seth, the god of atmospheric disturbances. Already Plutarch in *De Iside et Osiride* gives details of these sky battles. Seth is supposed to strike Horus on the eye and sometimes tears it out, swallows it and gives it back. "By the blow they describe the monthly waning of the moon, by the swallowing the removal of the orb in an eclipse" (Horus by the way retaliates by tearing out Seth's testicles) (Moret, 1927, 69). The battle of the celestial bodies is, however, also associated with the contest of rivals for a kingdom and forms part of the mythological charter of the succession ceremonies, especially in the Hima states, where the king was reminded of his victory by the phrase: "You have survived the moon" (Kitara). In a myth which Frobenius (Erythrea, 168) recorded "in the Zambezi area" the battle between the gods of the sky incorporates another feature of the Zulu r.t.g. myth, viz., that it is fought for the hand of the king's daughter. During a test which the sky god Moari imposes upon another sky god to find out, whether he is fit to become his son-in-law, the two begin to quarrel and hurl lightning at each other.

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is the grass fire. After it has swept over the veld, all life seems to have vanished. In South Africa the cool dry winters and droughts have a sim lar effect on the pasture.
[1] Frobenius L., 153–60 quotes a monograph by H. Schäfer the title of which is not given, concerning this mythological motif. The Greek version (Kronos separates his father Uranos and his mother Gaia) and the

rates his father Uranos and his mother Gaia) and the Maori version (Tane, the god of the forests, separates the male sky, Rang, from the female earth, Papa) represent the "ideal" myth.
[2] Tylor, E. B., *Researches. . .* p. 312, quotes the Algonquian story of the sunset in which Ojibwa, the

CONCLUSIONS

The stabbing of a. rolling target as a germinal rite

The investigation into the magical associations of the r.t.g. revealed that it may be used in a great variety of cultural situations wherein the symbolic value of the moving target varies. If the target represents an *animal of the chase*, the stabbing of the target may be an anticipatory hunting rite. Its outcome predetermines the result of the hunt (Zulu, Bahu-Mfisi myth; Fezzan: hunters shooting at game through circle; Pygmy ritual shooting at picture of game in cleared circle in bush). In the stabbing rites during initiation the purpose is different. The novices are to acquire magically the hunting *charisma* (Venda, Thonga, Northern Sotho), or they are brought face to face with symbols of animals or totemic groups (Fezzan *enface* lion; Northern Sotho *dikoma*). The disc-like or globular target may also represent *the earth*. Where this is coloured by political considerations the target becomes a symbol of the territorial divisions of the "earth", representing nations or towns. Shooting at it implies the gaining of control over these divisions (shooting the nations rite in Ancient Egypt. Hima states, West Africa). Or "the earth" may be taken as the source of vegetative fertility, when piercing the symbol results in the stimulation of the reproductive forces (shooting or spearing for rain; Sotho, Nguni and East African swallowing monster myth; the slain pumpkin produces large fruit!). This identification is easily transferred to the animal world (American Indian r.t.g. "produces" buffalo). The target may also represent *the sky*, *the sun* or other celestial bodies. Here the stabbing rite produces rain and thus fertility in food plants and game (Fezzan spheroids between horns of domestic animals; sun-stabbing at Ngcobo agricultural ceremonies; Hlubi initiation, Dobu and Chaga myths). Finally instances have been noted where the target is identified with *a human being* (historical instances in America; enslaving of defeated teams). The ritual implications of such identification is that the

hunter, shoots three magic arrows at the Red Swan, whose crimson life-blood fills the evening air with splendour. Cf. also Melland (Lunda 163 ; Wakwa 182).

victor becomes ruler over the conquered. (Where stabbing or shooting is directed at grave poles and ant heaps, or where celestial bodies are interpreted as the ancestors, the purpose of the shooting rite is to obtain various benefits over which the ancestors are thought to have control.)

One would expect such a widely applied rite as the piercing rite, and with it the r.t.g., to have associations with sex life. In the East African area, where the r.t.g. is known, a calabash may be used in the initiation of males to represent the female body and to demonstrate on it the nature of sexual congress. The initiation tally, known among the Chaga and Kamba, represent the phallus during lessons on sex life. It resembles the stick in the r.t.g. and is ritually destroyed after the birth of the first child. If a Chaga man wishes to acknowledge a child born in his homestead as his, he thrusts his spear into the thatch of the confinement hut, the beehive form of which suggests the female body in a number of initiation lessons. The motif is adapted to another sexual symbolism in Chaga female initiation. An old woman teacher pushes a firebrand into the ashes of the circular hearth and sings : "Who is it who sticks the firebrand into the ashes?" Her assistant responds : "It is the father, and the hearth is the mother. When the father places the firebrand in the hearth the child emerges!"

Among the Basuto the bridegroom indicates that he has overcome his bride during the first night, by piercing the thick morning porridge with a stick as a sign of his victory (Ashton 75).

Piercing the moving target may thus have ritual significance with almost every fundamental human activity in the non-differentiated primitive life: hunting, agriculture, education, war and conquest, accession, marriage. It is indeed a germinal rite, whose many manifestations and elaborations make it difficult to discover the primary underlying concept. One thing seems certain, however. The rite was originally performed by chiefs, weather-makers, or persons in marginal ritual situations, like initiates, hiers, newly-weds, hunters before the chase and warriors before a raid. Since to-day the stabbing of the moving circular target is performed mainly by boys as a pastime, we

evidently are here dealing with the sinking of a culture trait from the level of an adult ritual to that of a game for children. It was Tylor's view, that children's games often prove to be survivals of erstwhile serious activities of adults. It is true the only instances he gives for this generalization are games of chance which correspond to divinatory rites. But our survey justifies us to subsume the r.t.g. under the rule that "the serious practice comes first and in time may dwindle to the sportive survival" (Tylor, 1929, I, 73).

This assumption, based on evolutionary considerations, has to be modified in the view of recent observations of primitive child-life. Playful imitation by children of adult practices or ritual activities has occured at all levels of culture. The present r.t.g. of boys perpetuates thus not only the adult rite of the past, but is at the same time a true tradition within the paido-culture, the children's own sub-culture. Naturally such transfer from its proper sphere of function to that of childish activities can be expected to be accompanied by reactions in the social groups concerned and by changes in the transmitted culture trait. We have drawn attention to the suggestion in the South African swallowing monster myth, that "stabbing the pumpkins" was forbidden to the boys and, if nevertheless indulged in, it resulted in the attack of the target upon the players, a typical sanction for a taboo. The transfer of the rite from the adult to the child level would bring about the de-sacration of the rite and its change into a game played for amusement and competition only. It would also result in the forgetting of the true meaning of the rite and of its mythological background.

Historical speculations

The multiplicity of ritual implications ranging over the whole of primitive life and the possibility of easy adaptation to purposes of enjoyment in a sportive way probably account for the survival of the r.t.g. They have made of it a "hard" culture element which has not been eroded away by the flood of modern civilization. This leads us to examine the historical credentials of the r.t.g. The game was observed in the nineties in East Africa (Chaga), in the seventies in South Africa (Zulu) and previous to that in 1782 (Xhosa). Considering the historical evidence available for African peoples, it is unlikely that earlier reports may yet be found. The American Indian game was first observed in 1698. There is thus reason to suppose that the game is an old possession of primitive peoples. If we interpret the hoop-and-pole scene at Beni Hassan as a r.t.g., then it was known in Egyptian times. At any rate we have definite proof of the existence of the shooting of the nations rite in the XXVth Dynasty (about 650 B.C.). There are suggestions in the Fezzan rock paintings that shooting at discs as images of animals of the chase was practised even earlier. Harrison's surmize, that the bola-like missiles of the East African r.t.g. are connected with the stone bolas of pre-historic sites, would carry us farther back still. The universal distribution of the game likewise supports the assumption, that we are here dealing with a very old game or rite of mankind.

Two theories of the possible origin of the r.t.g. may be entertained. The first is that the r.t.g. is part of the divine king complex as exemplified in the shooting of the nations rite. In other words, the r.t.g. may be viewed as a further link in the chain which culturally links Africa south of the Sahara with Egypt.[1] This assumption might be supported by the following considerations. There seem to be four centres of the r.t.g., the Hima states, West Africa, the Congo and South Africa. Three of these coincide with the distirbution area of the divine king complex. In the particular case of the Nguni, Hamitic influence may be held responsible for the presence of the r.t.g. and the trace of the divine king complex among them. (The famous Zulu tyrant Chaka did not wish to age; he had his children killed, when killed their blood was not to be shed; Bahu's accession rite; Ngcobo chief's stabbing rite.) Their long neighbourhood with the Hottentotts, which was accompanied by linguistic borrowing, may then account for the Korana r.t.g. The Hamitic theory would make it unnecessary to assume that "shooting the nations" and r.t.g. travelled separately. According to W. J.

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[1] A basic text is Perry, W. J., *The Children of the Sun.* Cf. also Seligman, Moret and Jeffreys, M. D. W.

Perry's theory teams derive from moieties and the dual organization of society which is stratified into an immigrant ruling class, the carriers of the ancient civilization who claim divine or celestial origin, and their uninventive and peaceful subjects (Perry, 1927, p. 312).

The difficulties of the theory lie in timing the movements of the Hamitic people – the carriers of the divine king complex. The 25th dynasty, whose *sed* festival is shown in the temple of Amen, ruled in the 7th century B.C. Cline maintains that Egyptian culture declined from the 21st to the 25th dynasties (1090–633 B.C.) and that only during the 26th dynasty (633–525 B.C.) did a revival of ancient religion and art motifs take place. Whether the *sed*, including the shooting of the nations, was known previous to that period is difficult to say. In general the ritual of the divine kingship was introduced into the Egyptian culture already during the 1st and 2nd dynasties (3400–2980 B.C.) It is said to have originated with the ruling class which achieved unification of the two Egypts. It was also responsible for elaborating them during the 3rd and 4th dynasties. The shooting of the nations and its associated juvenile or profane form, the r.t.g., must therefore have been kept alive from at least 650 B.C. to after 1000 A.D., the date when the irruption of the Hamites into East Africa took place. As the Baganda kingdom was not established till 1680 A.D., another half millenium must be added, i.e., a total of 2000 years. On the other hand, it is assumed that by 1500 A.D. the Nguni were already inhabiting South Africa. The first meeting of Nguni and Hottentotts is placed as early as 1300 A.D. If we assume that the Hottentotts were the first pioneers of Egyptian influence in the south, and the Nguni ruling classes formed a subsequent wave, it would have to be assumed in addition that successive waves of migrants each faithfully carried essential features of a civilization with them into the wilderness which in its country of origin had by then disintegrated long ago. The objections to this view lie in the comparative insignificance of Hamitic, Nilotic and Hottentott peoples during the two hundred decades which elapsed between the 25th dynasty and their emergence into the limelight of history. Their cultural cohesion and political homogeneity during this long time are by no means generally accepted.

A second difficulty in ascribing the r.t.g. to the Hamitic divine king complex lies in the manifold applications of the piercing of the moving target to all spheres of life. We saw that it formed an important ritual for hunting, initiation, married life, agriculture and war. If the r.t.g. were exclusively connectable with the shooting of the nations, an accession rite, the case for it being considered part of the Egyptian culture complex would be overwhelming. Its widespread application in other spheres of life, however, seems to indicate that the stabbing rite is congenial to people which do not possess the strong political organization of the dual type presupposed by the theory of diffusion of culture from Egypt. The employment of the piercing of the moving target in the culture of hunters and agriculturalists makes it appear possible that the rite was developed in a simpler cultural medium than the Egyptian high culture. At any rate the different forms which the r.t.g. takes in Bushman and Bantu cultures, in the first, serving as anticipatory individual hunting rite, in the latter, as a method of charismatic training would tend to show that it expressed itself in contrasted forms in two cultures where hunting played an important role. It was pointed out, how easy would be the transition from a rite purporting to secure success in hunting to an agricultural rite bringing about plant growth and to human fertility rites (including the veneration of ancestral generations). Such a theory would not exclude the possibility that the r.t.g., where it is found in association with the shooting the nations rite was indeed a feature of the Egyptian culture which was diffused by the Hamites in their wanderings through the continent. The existence of the r.t.g. *in two forms* might become intelligible on such an explanation of the double origin of the r.t.g. (At any rate the pronounced absence of the arrow as a missile in the game seems to indicate, that whatever its origin, it has passed through the filter of a culture which did not use the arrow, as is the case in the Hamitic culture.)

If such a theory of the double origin of the r.t.g. would recommend itself, it might even be argued

that the Egyptians originally got the older rite from the African hunters and gave it a specific meaning in connexion with the elaboration of the divine king principle in the *sed* festival. That the borrowing of cultural features is not only a one-way traffic should by now be generally accepted. Quite recently it has been shown that some African culture traits have travelled to Turkey and are still identifiable there. The "Negro" tribes came into contact with the Egyptians during the 18th dynasty (according to Junker). They probably served the inhabitants of the Nile basin as slaves in much earlier times. It is not outside the bounds of possibilities that the masters learned the pastimes and the rites of their servants. The r.t.g. might then be a gift of the prehistoric hunters of North Africa to the vigorous nation in the valley of the Nile.

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(The first part of this article appeared in our last number.)

MACLEAN ON NATIVE LAW AND CUSTOM

PART I

Maclean's Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, *first published in 1858, represents the earliest attempt made in South Africa to record Native law. Colonel Maclean, who was chief commissioner of British Kaffraria, was assisted by experienced administrators and missionaries whose notes and comments he put together to form the book. The result was accepted by the Governor, Sir George Grey, "as a generally correct exposition of Kafir jurisprudence".*

As this rare book has been inaccessible for so long, we publish below the first of a series of extracts from it. This instalment, taken from the edition of 1906, is "from the Rev. H. H. Dugmore's papers, as (originally) published in the Christian Watchman *during 1846 and 1847".*

IT WOULD be scarcely correct to speak of a *system* of Kafir law. The laws of the Kafir tribes are but a collection of *precedents*, consisting of the decisions of the chiefs and councils of byegone days, and embodied in the recollections, personal or traditional, of the people of the existing generation. That these decisions, in the first instance, were founded upon some general notion of right, is not unlikely. It is not, however, to the abstract merits of a case that the appeal is now ordinarily made, in legal discussions, but to what has been customary in past times. The decisions of deceased chiefs of note are the guide for the living in similar circumstances. The justice of those decisions is usually assumed as a matter of course, no one presuming to suppose that an Amaxosa *chief*, any more than an English *king*, can do "wrong". The changing condition of the tribes, arising from their growing intercourse with a civilised people is, however, gradually introducing more complicated questions amongst them; and thus the decisions of the Ancients are becoming less applicable to the circumstances of the Moderns than formerly. The result is, that more difficulty is felt in deciding, and the "glorious uncertainty" of the law of more enlightened lands is finding its way into the "courts" of Kaffraria.

In presenting a brief sketch of "Kafir Law", it may be observed in the first place, that a distinction obtains in some respects similar to that which exists amongst us between Criminal and Civil law. In one class of cases the *chief* is always considered the aggrieved party, and the action is always entered on his behalf. In the other, the *people* are the only parties concerned, the chief having to do with the matter in his capacity of judge merely. The principle which regulates the classification of cases is, however, one that makes a very different division of the civil from the criminal to that which obtains in civilised jurisprudence. This principle is, that a man's *goods* are his own property, but his *person* is the property of his chief. Thus, if his possessions be invaded, he claims redress for himself; but if his person be assaulted, and bodily injury be the result, it becomes *his* owner's concern. In the latter case, however heavily the offender may be fined, the actual sufferer derives no benefit. "No man can eat his own blood", is the maxim which regulates this procedure; and as the fines levied for personal injuries are considered the "price of blood", whoever should receive any part of such fine in a case where he had himself been the sufferer, would be regarded as violating this maxim.

The Kafir "criminal code" then, may be viewed as comprising whatever cases can be arranged under the general heads of treason, murder, assault, and witchcraft. The "civil" all that have reference to property; including as such a man's wife as the principal article, and his character as

the next: and proceeding downwards through his various kinds of live-stock to his houses, granaries, and cornfields. A "good name" is deemed of such worth (possibly on the principle that the scarcity or rarity of an article enhances its value) that whoever attempts to "filch" it, runs the risk of a serious prosecution.

The penal sanctions of Kafir law resolve themselves into the general system of pecuniary fines, varying according to circumstances from a single head of cattle to the entire confiscation of property. The exceptions to this are, cases of assault on the persons of wives of the chiefs, and what are deemed aggravated cases of witchcraft. These usually involve the punishment of death very summarily inflicted. This punishment, however, seldom follows even murder, when committed without the supposed aid of supernatural powers; and as banishment, imprisonment, and corporal punishment are all unknown in Kafir jurisprudence, the *property* of the people constitutes the great fund out of which the debts of justice are paid.

The principle upon which fines are levied is not very rigidly defined. Family and personal influence, and favouritism, have much to do with regulating the amount where the decision is given by the chiefs. In cases of cattle stealing, the law allows a fine of ten head, though but one may have been stolen, provided the animal has been slaughtered, or cannot be restored. The principle of ten for one is not, however, so applied as to involve the maintenance of the rule whatever be the number stolen. Though ten are levied when one has been stolen, it is not admitted to follow that a hundred may be demanded when *ten* have been stolen. The circumstances of the case are taken into consideration, and the decision varies accordingly. And then "by a fiction of law", iron pots, axes, and assagais are allowed to represent cattle; so that the man who pays for his theft five or six head of cattle, and a goat or two, making up the number of ten by the addition of some of the above articles, is frequently released from all farther legal claim, so far as that case is concerned.

Should a delinquent be too poor to pay the fine himself, his father, or nearest living relatives are held responsible, and many a grey-headed parent

has the disagreeable task of doing for his scapegrace of a son what his own father in his younger days had to do for him. Should neither the offender nor his relatives be able to satisfy the *present* claims of justice, the law is so accommodating as to give credit; and five, ten, or twenty *years* afterwards, if his altered circumstances render it worth while to re-open the case, it is found carefully registered in the living records kept in the heads of old councillors.

When it is ascertained that stolen property has been shared by the thief with others, the fine imposed by law is levied upon the receivers and the thief in common, in proportion to the amount of plunder received by each participator.

In cases ranked as "Criminal", that is, where the chief himself is the prosecutor, the penalty very often consists in being "eaten", to use the rather expressive figure by which entire confiscation of property is implied. In some cases the nature of the crime fully warrants this, and would justify even more. In others, a looker-on might feel it a difficult matter to find *good* reasons for such procedure; the chiefs, however, easily find reasons sufficient to satisfy *themselves*.

The course of law in Kafirland proceeds on a principle the very reverse of that which regulates English administration of justice. We assume the accused party innocent till his guilt is proved. In Kafirland he is held guilty till he can demonstrate his innocence. With us, *witnesses* must supply the grounds upon which the case is to be decided. Amongst the Kafirs, the accused party *himself* is subjected to a most rigorous cross-examination, varied and repeated at the pleasure of his examiners, and every advantage is taken of his mistakes or self-contradictions.

The conduct of a Kafir law-suit through its various stages is an amusing scene to any one who understands the language, and who marks the proceedings with a view to elicit mental character.

When a man has ascertained that he has sufficient grounds to enter an action against another, his first step is to proceed, with a party of his friends or adherents, armed, to the residence of the person against whom his action lies. On their arrival, they sit down together in some conspicuous

position, and await quietly the result of their presence. As a law party is readily known by the aspect and deportment of its constituents, its appearance at any kraal is the signal for mustering all the adult male residents that are forthcoming. These accordingly assemble, and also sit down together, within conversing distance of their generally unwelcome visitors. The two parties perhaps survey each other in silence for some time. "Tell us the news!" at length exclaims one of the adherents of the defendant, should their patience fail first. Another pause sometimes ensues, during which the party of the plaintiff discuss in an under tone which of their company shall be "opening counsel". This decided, the "learned gentleman" commences a minute statement of the case, the rest of the party confining themselves to occasional suggestions, which he adopts or rejects at pleasure. Sometimes he is allowed to proceed almost uninterrupted to the close of the statement, the friends of the defendant listening with silent attention, and treasuring up in their memories all the points of importance for a future stage of the proceedings. Generally, however, it receives a thorough sifting from the beginning, every assertion of consequence being made the occasion of a most searching series of cross questions.

The case thus fairly opened, which often occupies several hours, it probably proceeds no farther the first day. The plaintiff and his party are told that the "men" of the place are from home; that there are none but "children" present, who are not competent to discuss such important matters. They accordingly retire, with the tacit understanding that the case is to be resumed the next day.

During the interval, the defendant formally makes known to the men of the neighbouring kraals that an action has been entered against him, and they are expected to be present on his behalf at the resumption of the case. In the meantime, the first day's proceedings having indicated the line of argument adopted by the plaintiff, the plan of defence is arranged accordingly. Information is collected, arguments are suggested, precedents sought for, able debaters called in, and every possible preparation made for the battle of intellects that is to be fought on the following day. The

plaintiff's party, usually reinforced both in mental and in material strength, arrive the next morning and take up their ground again. Their opponents, now mustered in force, confront them, seated on the ground, each man with his arms by his side. The case is resumed by some "advocate for the defendant" requiring a re-statement of the plaintiff's grounds of action. This is commenced, perhaps by one who was not even present at the previous day's proceedings, but who has been selected for this more difficult stage of the case on account of his debating abilities.

"Then comes the tug of war." The ground is disputed inch by inch; every assertion is contested, every proof attempted to be invalidated; objection meets objection, and question is opposed by counter question, each disputant endeavouring, with surprising adroitness, to throw the burden of *answering* on his opponent. The Socratic method of debate appears in all its perfection, both parties being equally versed in it. The rival advocates warm as they proceed, sharpening each other's intellects, and kindling each other's ardour, till, from the passions that seem enlisted in the contest, a stranger might suppose the interests of the nation to be at stake, and dependent upon the decision.

When these combatants have spent their strength, or one of them is overcome in argument, others step in to the rescue. The battle is fought over again on different ground; some point, either of law or evidence, that had been purposely kept in abeyance being now brought forward, and perhaps the entire aspect of the case changed. The whole of the second day is frequently taken up with this intellectual gladiatorship, and it closes without any other result than an exhibition of the relative strength of the opposing parties. The plaintiff's company retire again, and the defendant and his friends review their own position. Should they feel that they have been worsted, and that the case is one that cannot be successfully defended, they prepare to attempt to bring the matter to a conclusion by an offer of the smallest satisfaction the law allows. This is usually refused, in expectation of an advance in the offer, which takes place generally in proportion to the defendant's anxiety to prevent an appeal. Should the plaintiff at length

accede to the proposed terms, they are fulfilled, and the case is ended by a formal declaration of acquiescence.

If, however, as it frequently happens, the case involves a number of intricate questions, that afford room for quibbling, the debates are renewed day after day, till the plaintiff determines to appeal to the decision of the *umpàkati*, who has charge of the neighbouring district. He proceeds with his array of advocates to his kraal, and the case is re-stated in his presence. The defendant confronts him, and the whole affair is gone into anew on an enlarged scale of investigation. The history of the case, the history of the events that led to it, collateral circumstances, journeys, visits, conversations, bargains, exchanges, gifts, promises, threatenings, births, marriages, deaths, that were taken, paid, made, given, or occurred in connection with either of the contending parties, or their associates, come under review, and before the "court of appeal" has done with the affair, the history, external and internal, of a dozen families, for the past ten years, is made the subject of conflicting discussion.

The "Resident Magistrate" decides the case, if he can, after perhaps a week's investigation; but if not, or if either party be dissatisfied with his decision, an appeal can still be made to the chief "in council".

Should this final step be resolved on, the appealing party proceeds to the "Great Place". Here, however, more of form and ceremony must be observed than before. As soon as he and his company arrive within hearing, he shouts at the full extent of his voice, "*Ndimangele!*" (I lodge a complaint). "*Umangele 'nto nina?*" (You lodge a complaint of what?) is the immediate response, equally loud, from whichever of the "men of the Great Place" happens to catch the sound. A shouting dialogue commences, the complainants approaching all the while till they have reached the usual position occupied on such occasions, a spot at the respectful distance of some fifty paces from the council hut. The dialogue lasts as long as the *umpakati* chooses to question, and then ceases. The complainants sit still. Bye and bye someone else comes out of the house and sees the party. "What do *you* complain about?" "We complain

about so and so"; and the case is begun afresh. He listens and questions as long as he likes, and then passes on. A third happens to be going by. The enquiry is repeated, and *again* a statement of the case is commenced. The *umpakati wakwo-mkulu* questions as he goes, and without stopping continues his interrogations till he is out of hearing. This tantalizing and seemingly contemptuous procedure is repeated at the pleasure or caprice of any man who chances to form one of the "court" for the time being, and it would be "contempt of court" to refuse to answer. At length, when it suits their convenience, the councillors assemble, and listen to the complainant's statement. The opposite party, if he has not come voluntarily to confront his accusers, is summoned by authority. On his arrival the former processes of statement and counter-statement are repeated, subject to the cross-examining ordeal through which old Kafir lawyers know so well how to put a man. The chief meanwhile is perhaps lying stretched on a mat in the midst of his council, apparently asleep, or in a state of *dignified* indifference as to what is going forward. He is, however, in reality as wide awake as any present, of which he can generally give proof should he see fit to assume the office of examiner himself. He sometimes does so, after having listened to the debates that have taken place in his presence, and then decides the case. At other times he forms his decision upon the result of the investigation conducted by his councillors, and takes no part in the case but to pronounce judgment. On this being done, the party in whose favour judgment is given starts up, rushes to the feet of the chief, kisses them, and in an impassioned oration extols the wisdom and justice of his judge to the skies. A party from the "Great Place" is sent with him to enforce the decision, *and bring back the chief's share of the fine imposed*, and the affair is at an end.

MARRIAGE CUSTOMS

Amongst the national usages of the Kafirs, as amongst those of other tribes and nations, the customs connected with Marriage rank first in

importance, as influencing the entire social condition of the people. Some account of these will form the subject of the present article.

Polygamy is universally allowed throughout all the tribes, nor is there any legal limit to the number of wives a man may take. The actual number generally bears some proportion to the wealth of the husband; not, perhaps, so much from its regulating his desire to increase it, as from its determining the inclinations of those who have marriageable daughters to dispose of; for as the refusal of a proffered bride is regarded as an insult to her family, to reject one when sent would often involve the party doing so in considerable trouble, and might, indeed certainly *would*, in some cases, expose him to the danger of seeing his cattle swept off to wipe away the affront. On the principle, therefore, "of two evils to choose the least", an old man sometimes consents to take another and a young wife, when his inclinations would lead him to demur. For in Kafirland at least, such an enlargement of the domestic establishment by no means guarantees an increase of domestic happiness. The jealousies and rivalries of the spousal "sisters", as they designate each other; and the still greater evils flowing in such a state of society from such unnatural associations, often prove the plague of the husband's life, and frequently result in the dismissal or abandonment of such of his wives as cause him the greatest annoyance. The average number of wives to each married man amongst the common people is about three. Some of the rich *amapakati* are known to have as many as ten, and some of the chiefs twice that number.

Concubinage is also allowed, and amongst the chiefs exists to a considerable extent. Their concubines are usually women selected from amongst their own people, who have become objects of attraction to their rulers, but whose parents are not of sufficient consideration to demand on their behalf the more honourable rank of wives. It is, however, by no means uncommon for a chief to raise a favourite concubine to that rank, after some years' cohabitation. Amongst the common people, concubines consist of two classes, the voluntary, and the bestowed. The former are those who have become such by personal consent, and arrangement with the relatives in whose guardianship they are. The latter are such as the chiefs have authoritatively allotted to the young men of their retinue, who have acquired their special favour during their term of service at the "Great Place"; and who have therefore obtained permission to select female companions from amongst their acquaintance, without incurring the expense of the marriage dowry. As concubines have a legal standing, their offspring are not considered illegitimate. They rank, however, inferior to the children of the "married wives"; nor can they inherit, except in default of male issue on the part of the latter.

In a preceding article, an account is given of the peculiarity in the law of inheritance, which arises from the investiture of certain of the wives of the chiefs with a rank above the rest. The same custom obtains throughout all the grades of Kafir society. The "great wife", the "wife of the right hand", and the representative of "the house of the father", are found amongst all classes, should the husband have as many as three wives; and should they exceed that number, the children of the rest have no claim on their father's property beyond the portions given to them by their father himself during his lifetime.

The younger sons of a family are not competent to marry while their elder brother remains single. The order of seniority is not, however, observed any farther. The firstborn once "settled in life", the rest may follow, as inclination and circumstances lead. The origin of this custom is probably to be found in the priority of claim which the eldest son, in virtue of his primogeniture, is deemed to have upon his father's aid in providing a dowry.

The business of negociation in matrimonial affairs differs accordingly as the proposal comes from the representatives of the bride, or from those of the bridegroom. A man sometimes fixes his desire upon a young woman, and at once proposes to her guardians that she shall be sent to his residence in the ordinary manner. If his proposal be accepted, it serves to cut short some part of the ceremonies afterwards to be described.

It is sometimes the case, also, that two young men select as the object of their choice the same young woman. They commence a course of

rival bidding for the father's consent, and the daughter's affections. The cattle of the respective candidates are sent to the father of the object of their rivalry by one or two at a time, as may be necessary in each case to advance a step beyond the opposite side. When the highest bidder has reached his maximum, the cattle of both are surveyed together, and the lady is called upon to declare her own choice of the candidates themselves. If this should happen to coincide with that of her parents with respect to the cattle, so much the better. If not, a contest commences of persuasion *versus* authority. It *sometimes* occurs that the entreaties of the daughter prevail over the avarice of the father, but such cases, the Kafirs admit, are rare. Kafir fathers have for the most part their full share of those principles of human nature which in more *enlightened* countries lead parents to sacrifice the "fooling" inclinations of their children at a golden shrine; and accordingly the highest bidder usually gains the prize. The cattle of the unsuccessful candidate are then driven *by the fair one herself*, arrayed in her best ornaments, to the home of their owner, and left in his kraal. This is the *coup de grace* of rejection, and is a piece of refinement in punishing a stingy suitor, worthy the notice of the *undervalued* ladies of more civilized nations.

Such cases as the above often occur. In the ordinary course of things, however, negociations are begun by the father of the bride, and especially so, if she be a person of rank. The process is frequently a very lengthy one. A husband having been fixed on, the first step is to send a person by night to his residence, with an introductory present called *umlomo*, or "the mouth". This present, consisting of ornaments, such as beads, or brass wire for bracelets, must be left secretly, as otherwise etiquette would require its being returned. Whether or no this custom has had its origin in the excessive bashfulness of the men does not appear. The discovery of the "mouth", after its bearer is gone, is frequently the first intimation of a proposed matrimonial alliance, and it may still be unknown from what quarter the proposal comes. Sometimes the requisite information is left in the neighbourhood. At other times, where more caution is required, a visitor, or rather a passer by,

calls the next day, *quite accidentally*, it should appear. In the course of "telling the news", in compliance with the universal requisition made upon strangers, he mentions *cursorily* that he happened to hear so and so drop some hints of an intention to send his daughter to be married in the neighbourhood. Of course he *happens* also to know something of the lady herself as of her family, and can give some information respecting her personal attractions, and other good qualities. He may even be gallant enough to advocate her cause, although of course, quite disinterested. From the character of the conversation that follows, he is soon able to gather in what way these first advances are received, and what are the probabilities of a prosperous issue to the negociation. If the ambition of the lady's friends should have led them to aim at too high a mark, (for family pride is by no means too refined a feeling for a barbarian breast), or if other circumstances should determine the selected party to decline the alliance, the "mouth" is sent back to tell its owner of her rejection. If, on the contrary either the desires or the fears of the bridegroom elect induce him to regard it favourably, the way is open for the next step in this interesting and important business.

It should not pass unremarked, that when the proposed bride is a chief's daughter, the introductory present is not left secretly, but dropped in the presence of those to whom it is sent. They instantly endeavour to seize the bearer, who takes to his heels, pursued by all the young men of the place. Should he outstrip them, and escape capture, his credit is saved. But if he is caught, his hands are tied behind him, the present bound to his back, and himself sent home to become the laughing stock of his associations, of whom the female portion are not the least severe, upon his failure. The "mouth" is then entrusted to the care of some light-footed messenger, while the former one bears his disgrace as he can.

The next step in the process is the arrival, at the kraal of the bridegroom elect, of two or three persons, usually women. These also arrive in the night. They seat themselves near one of the huts in the open air in silence, and remain there till discovered by some of the people of the place. On

being questioned, they give some fictitious account of themselves. On being invited to lodge for the night, they decline. This is the intimation that they form the party sent to *hlolela* or "spy for" the bride. A hut is then appropriated to their use, and they there await the result of this second step. Weeks sometimes elapse, during which they have little or no intercourse with the people of the place, farther than is necessary to obtain food. Now and then, one of the party pays a visit home to report progress. She must not, however, be seen to depart, nor to arrive on her return. In the mean time the men of the place have resolved themselves, assisted by their neighbours into a "committee of ways and means", on the subject of the dowry. When this important matter has been fully discussed, the "spies" are informed that the bride may come. This information being transmitted, the *uduli*, or bridal party, makes its appearance, consisting of the bride herself, a number of young female companions, the representatives of her father or guardians, and some young men as attendants or messengers. The party takes possession of the hut occupied by the "spies". In due time the master of the kraal sends word that the bride is to present herself "to be seen". She accordingly proceeds with one or two of her companions to where the men are assembled. She kneels before them at a short distance, uncovered from the waist upwards, while her defects or beauties of person are freely criticised. When this is over, she retires, leaving behind her a present of beads or buttons. She is afterwards called for by the women, and a similar ordeal is endured, another present being left on retiring. In the meantime the dowry negociation is going forwards between the representatives of the two parties; the demands of the one, and the statement of difficulties by the other, occupying a considerable time. At length the men of the bridal party are summoned to the cattle kraal. An ox is caught in their presence. They look on in silence and retire. The animal is slaughtered, and the meat sent to them. This is the ratification of the contract, and the signal for the marriage festivities to commence. The presents of the father of the bride to his son-in-law are produced. These are, one head of cattle

for a kaross, another, the hair of the tail of which is to be worn round his neck as a charm, and, if the bride be a person of rank, a number of cows to furnish a milksack and its contents for his sustinence. The number of the latter varies from two or three to ten, according to the wealth or ostentation of the party who sends them. The neighbours are invited to the wedding, and the dancing and feasting begin. These festivities usually last three days among the "commonalty". When a chief of rank is married they continue eight or ten days. On the last day, when the sun is declining, the ox races are held. While the youth and more fiery of the elder guests are absent at this sport, the *ukutshata* takes place. This is the great ceremonial of the occasion, but strikingly characteristic of the barbarism of the people. The bride, and two of her companions as supporters, walk in procession. Their only clothing consists of the skins of the oribie, tied round the loins. Their heads are bare, and their bodies covered with light red ochre, which presents the more remarkable appearance from the bright yellow of the oribie skins. They proceed arm in arm, "with solemn steps and slow", towards the gate of the cattle kraal, the bride carrying in her hand a single assagai. Their air is that of victims about to be offered in sacrifice, for which they would certainly be taken by any one ignorant of the customs of the country. As they proceed on their way, one of the male attendants removes any sticks or stones that may chance to lie in the path. On reaching the kraal gate, the bride throws the assagai within it, and leaves it there. The procession then moves towards where the men are assembled, the women of the place preceding the bride, and imitating in dumb show her future duties, such as carrying wood and water, and cultivating the ground. On reaching the assembly of the men, the procession halts, and the bride is lectured on her future conduct by any one of them who chooses. There is no deficiency of coarse brutality of remark in this part of the ceremony, which continues as long as the lecturers please, the bride standing before them in perfect silence. It is, however, the *finale* of the ceremony. On receiving permission to retire, the procession returns to the place from which it set out, the guests depart, the

bride takes possession of a new hut that has been erected for her, and assumes her assigned position in the domestic establishment of her new "lord and master".

The number of guests present at these festivities is sometimes very great. At the marriage of chiefs of high rank, they amount to thousands. On such occasions the greater portion of the tribe assembles, and all the other chiefs within one or two days' journey are expected either to attend in person, or send their racing oxen. To neglect to do either would be considered an affront. The bridegroom and his friends provide the slaughter cattle for the feast; but the guests bring their own milch cows and milksacks. From four or five to fifty head of cattle are slaughtered, according to the wealth and rank of the parties.

Such is the marriage ceremonial in the "respectable circles" of Kafir society. There is also an abridged form, in which the *ukutshata* and the ox racing are omitted, and the feasting and dancing much curtailed. This, however, is considered a discreditable mode of getting married, and is therefore chiefly confined to the poorest of the people.

There is another custom connected with the marriage of chiefs, or rather supplementary to it, very characteristic of the people; but which, like several others, is falling into disuse among the frontier tribes. At the close of the first year of marriage, the male relatives of the bride muster and form a party to go and pay the congratulatory visit. On their coming in sight, however, a rival muster takes place of the friends and retainers of the husband, who go out to resist the advance of the other party. The result is a cudgel match on a large scale, from pure friendliness, of course, but which nevertheless does not prevent heads and limbs from being broken. Should the friends of the bride drive the other party off the ground, the welcoming present of cattle made by the husband is expected to be so much the larger; but if the opposite side win the day, the demands of the congratulators are proportionably lessened.

The general Eastern custom of paying a dowry, or marriage price, for their wives, obtains throughout the Kafir tribes. Cattle, the number varying according to the rank of the bride, from ten to a hundred head, constitute this dowry; and the desire of obtaining as many cattle as possible, usually leads her father or other guardians to send her to the richest man their own rank will warrant, without any regard to her own inclinations, or the age, disposition, or domestic circumstances of her intended husband. As this custom has been considered to reduce the wife to a mere article of merchandize, it has been condemned in strong terms, on the ground of its degrading influence. It must be acknowledged that although the *principle* of the usage has the sanction of patriarchal antiquity, and is mentioned, without prohibition, in the Old Testament, its *circumstantials*, as existing amongst the Kafir tribes, partake of the grossness to be expected in a barbarous state of society. It is but fair, however, that the whole case should be exhibited. The transaction is not a mere purchase. The cattle paid for the bride are divided amongst her male relations, and are considered by the law to be held in trust for the benefit of herself and children, should she be left a widow. She can accordingly legally demand assistance from any of those who have partaken of her dowry; and her children can apply to them on the same ground for something to "begin the world with". Nor can the husband ill-treat her with impunity. On experiencing any real grievance, she can claim an asylum with her father again, till her husband has made such atonement as the case demands. Nor would many European husbands like to be subjected to the usual discipline on such occasions. The offending husband must go in person to ask for his wife. He is instantly surrounded by the *women* of the place, who cover him at once with reproaches and blows. Their nails and fists may be used with impunity, for it is the day of female vengeance, and the belaboured delinquent is not allowed to resist. He is not permitted to see his wife, but is sent home, with an intimation of what cattle are expected from him, which he must send before he can demand his wife again. And this process, should it be necessary, may be repeated over and over again, to be closed, in incorrigible cases (should the women have borne any children), by the father's finally detaining his daughter and her dowry together. So that the husband may at last lose wife and cattle both.

THE NDZUNDZA DIALECT
OF SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL NGUNI-NDEBELE

E. F. POTGIETER

A. NOTES ON COPULATIVE FORMATION IN ISINDZUNDZA

(a) Copulatives formed from Nouns: Positive Formation:

Class	Noun		Indefinite Copulative
1	S.	umundu (person)	mundu or mumundu (it is a . . .)
	P.	aɓandu (people)	ɓandu or ɓaɓandu
1a	S.	umma (my/our mother)	ngumma
	P.	aɓomma	ɓaɓomma
2	S.	umuthi (tree)	muthi or mumuthi
	P.	imithi	mithi or mimithi
3	S.	ilihlo (eye)	lihlo or lilihlo
	P.	amehlo	mamehlo
4	S.	isilo (wild animal)	silo or sisilo
	P.	izilo	zilo or zizilo
5	S.	ikomo (head of cattle)	yikomo
	P.	inkomo	zinkomo
		izinja (dogs)	zizinja
6	S.[1]	ulimu (tongue)	lulimu
7	S.	uɓukhosi (kingship)	ɓukhosi or ɓuɓukhosi
8		ukudla (food)	kudla or kukudla

Note: All copulatives are pronounced by lowering the tone of the first syllable. Note also the similarity to certain copulatives in Xhosa.

Negative Formation: Sotho influence is evident here. The negative copulative is formed by prefixing *xasi-*[2] or *asi-* to the original noun, the initial vowel of which is dropped, e.g.

(x)asimundu (it is not a person)   (x)asizinja (it is not dogs)
(x)asikomo (it is not a head of cattle)   (x)asikudla (it is not food)

(b) Copulatives formed from Absolute Pronouns: Positive Formation:
The second person singular and class 1 singular forms take *ngu-* and drop the final syllable, e.g.

wena (you)   >   nguwe (it is you)
yena (he)   >   nguye (it is he).

All other persons and classes take *ngi-*, e.g.

ngimi (it is I)
ngiɓo (it is they)
ngizo (it is they – the cattle).

This is reminiscent of the invariable copulative formative *ke* in Sotho.

Negative Formation: The second person singular and class 1 singular forms take *asu-*, e.g. *asuwe* (it is not you). All other persons and classes take *asi-*, e.g. *asimi* (it is not I), *asizo* (it is not they).

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[1] This class is obsolescent in this language, and most nouns formerly belonging to it now appear in class 3.
[2] The symbol x represents an unvoiced velar fricative.

(c) Copulatives formed from Demonstratives:

Classes 1 and 3 singular prefix *ngu–*, e.g. *ngulowo* (it is that [person]). All other classes and persons prefix *ngi–*, e.g. *ngilaɓo* (it is those [people]).

(d) Quantitative Pronouns:

Copulatives are not formed directly from these pronouns. The quantitative pronoun is preceded by the copulative formed from the corresponding absolute pronoun, e.g.

ngiɓo ɓoke (it is all of them – 3rd pers. cl. 1 plural)

ngizo zoke (inkomo).

B. ISINDZUNDZA TEXT

THE QUARREL OF THE BROTHERS NDZUNDZA AND MANALA
WHICH CAUSED THE SPLITTING OF THE SOUTHERN TRANSVAAL NDEƁELE TRIBE[1]

Lapha ɓathoma khona uNdzundza noManala ukwahlukana kwaɓo: Lamadoda aɓe ɓandwana ɓomundu munye. Omkhulu iɓigama lakhe iɓinguManala. Owesiɓili uNdzundza. Manje uyise eselakhulile, kwafanela ukuthi ikosi iɓe nguManala. Manje unina angafuni. Unina wathi maɓuthathwe nguNdzundza. Uyiseke wathi: "UManala uphi?" – ngoɓa uManala uɓe noɓoya lapha esifuɓeni. Ɓathi: "Usakhambile uyokuzuma imbuthunyane."

Manje unina wathi kuNdzundza: "Khamba wena!" Wafika uNdzundza lapha ekosini. Ikosi yaphumbutha esifuɓeni sakhe, wathi: "Hayi, ayisuy' uManala· lo, nguNdzundza!" – ngoɓa uyise uɓephophela, engasaɓoni.

Unina wathi: "Wena Ndzundza, khamba uɓambe imbuzana, uyihlaɓe. Uthi ma uyihlaɓe uyihlinze. Manje uyithathe isikhumba sayo usiɓophe esifuɓeni.

Waphinda waɓuya kuyise futhi. Uyise waphinda waɓuza futhi: "Uphi uManala?" Wathi: "Ngikhona ɓaɓa!" Ikosi yaphinda yamphumbutha. Uyezwa loɓoya manje, uthatha-ke uɓukhosi waɓunika uNdzundza. Kuthe-ke emveni kwalokhu wamnikela.

Uthe-ɓo na amnikele wathi kuye: "Ngiyakuyizwa ukuthi awusuyi Manala. Ɓaleka ucinise ngoɓa uManala ngezwa azakuɓulala."

Kuthome lapha ukudaɓuka kukaNdzundza noManala. Kwathomeka ngelanga lela.

Here where they started, Ndzundza and Manala, their parting: These men were the children of one person. The bigger his name was Manala. The second is Ndzundza. Now the father already being old, it was fitting that the king (should) be Manala. Now the mother did not want (it). The mother said let it (kingship) be taken by Ndzundza. The father said: "Where is Manala?" – because Manala had hair here on his chest. They said: "He is still gone to hunt imbuthunyane" (kind of game). Now the mother said to Ndzundza: "Go thou!" He, Ndzundza, arrived here by the king. The king felt his chest, and said: "No, it is not he, Manala, this, it is Ndzundza!" – because the father was going blind, he no longer seeing (well).

The mother then said: "You Ndzundza, go and catch a small goat, and slaughter it. Having slaughtered it, skin it. Now you take its skin and tie it to (your) chest."

He again returned to his father. His father again asked: "Where is Manala?" He said: "I am present father." The king again felt him over. He feels the hair now, and thus takes the kingship and gave it to Ndzundza. It happens thus after this that he gave it to him.

He, however, having given it to him said to him: "I hear you that you are not Manala. Flee surely because Manala I feel will kill you."

It started here, the splitting of Ndzundza and Manala. It was in the act of starting on that day.

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[1] This text was offered by an old man from the Middelburg district, Transvaal. To what extent the story has been inspired by the Bible is not known.

BOOK IN REVIEW

Survey of African Marriage and Family Life. Edited by ARTHUR PHILLIPS. (Oxford University Press, London: 1953) xli 462 pp., 45/-.

This large volume might be described as a monument to the failure of social scientists to co-operate with one another across the frontiers of the social sciences. A team of three undertook, at the instance of the International Missionary Council, the task of surveying the situation in Africa resulting from the destruction of African family life and the lowering of moral standards generally. From the product of their labours, it can be inferred that the three investigators were unable to reach anything like agreement on what they were looking for or how they would assess what they found. Mr. Arthur Phillips is a lawyer with colonial experience who looks at marriage as primarily a matter governed by legal rules. Dr. Lucy Mair is an anthropologist who looks at law as only a part of social life to be considered in its broadest terms. Mr. Lyndon Harries is a linguist who has been a missionary and who looks at marriage as an institution of which its religious implications are fundamental to its analysis. There is no obvious reason why these three divergent points of view should not ultimately be reconciled, at least to some degree. But they are not reconciled here. The result is that the reader is presented with three different surveys from none of which do the essential issues begin to emerge with any clarity or force. The layman or the student for whose benefit the work was presumably designed, is indeed likely to lose himself amid the dense detail unsubdued to any purpose. Mr. Phillips, whose own part is done with his usual distinction, has tried, in a long Introduction, to guide the reader through the jungle ahead, but even the paths he indicates are not clear enough.

The central problem is how to reduce to manageable size the legal and moral tangles, notably in marriage and inheritance, that beset Africans in transition from tribal life to an acceptance of western values. Such people, and they are increasing in numbers, live double lives, marred by an inner conflict that is deep and continuous. The resulting strain on personality is shown by behaviour that must needs appear irrational to those unaware of the conflict.

The three authors have admirably summarized a mass of material from all parts of the continent, a task to which they devoted years of industry deserving the thanks of all who will follow their trails. But they have not elucidated any of the issues that lie at the root of the thorny problems indicated. For instance, they do not discuss the vital question whether the assimilation of European culture by Africans is not an inevitable process that should be accelerated rather than retarded by public policy. It is to be hoped that broad questions of this character will be frankly faced in the second volume of which there is a promise.

J. L.

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